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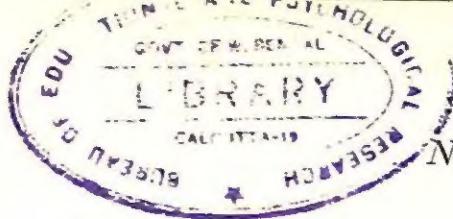
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EDUCATIONAL REVIEW
RESEARCH

1. (R 1)

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THE FUTURE OF TEACHER-TRAINING

by M. V. C. JEFFREYS

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ANY discussion of the future of teacher-training must start from a recognition that changes in the existing system are necessary. The extension of the training college course from two years to three raises the question whether it should be possible for students to get degrees in training colleges. The establishment of a national "pool" for financing training colleges suggests that the whole system of government and administration of the colleges is ripe for review. The rapid development of advanced courses for experienced teachers, and of educational research, at present mainly sponsored by the Institutes of Education and the University Departments of Education, points to the need to ask what share the colleges ought to be taking, and what should be their relation to the universities, in the fields of research and advanced studies. These are only a few of the problems which indicate that changes in the organisation of teacher-training are necessary. This article does not claim to deal with all the matters that need consideration, but only offers suggestions on some of the most important topics.

I. THE PATTERN OF TRAINING IN THE TRAINING COLLEGES

Experience has shown the value of a course in which the further personal education of the student is carefully integrated with his professional preparation. The clear vocational aim of the training college is healthy and should be maintained. The training college course is both good personal education and good professional training. It is worth bearing in mind that the universities themselves have a long tradition of vocational education (for doctors, engineers and others), and that the study of academic subjects in a vocational context is by no means contrary to that tradition. One of the weaknesses of the training of graduate teachers in the universities is that there is no planned relation between the subject-matter of the degree courses and the subsequent course of professional training. That

this system of training graduate teachers works as well as it does is largely due to the fact that the students are, by and large, of high intelligence; it is certainly no argument for a system by which professional training and academic studies are disconnected from one another.

It is therefore suggested that the personal education of intending teachers and their professional preparation should, wherever possible, be planned as a single, integrated operation. Any change in the direction of separating academic and professional elements which are now closely related must be a change for the worse.

2. THE SCOPE OF THE TRAINING COLLEGES

There is a good deal of truth in the contention that teachers are, in their preparation for their job, too insulated from the rest of the community. A boy or girl goes, from the sixth form of a grammar school, to a training college, and then back into school as a teacher. It is generally recognised that the comparatively small numbers of teachers who are recruited at a maturer age, after earning their livings in other occupations, bring into the teaching profession a variety of experience which is valuable out of proportion to their numbers.

There is no doubt that the colleges would gain enormously by expanding their scope to include all kinds of professional preparation within the broad field of education and social service work (e.g. probation officers as well as youth leaders and teachers). It is impossible as yet to forecast the proportions in which students might be forthcoming for different educational and social occupations; the answer to that question depends on the answer to another question—namely, to what extent occupations for which the training is now mainly part-time come to require full-time courses of training. Two suggestions, however, can safely be made. One is that there should be a few experimental colleges offering preparation for a wide variety of occupations. The other is that, as far as possible, every college should offer at least one other type of professional training besides teaching. The following passage from the Memorandum of the A.T.C.D.E. for the Robbins Committee is worth quoting:

Students following different courses would educate one another. . . . The interchange of ideas and experience occurs more freely when students live together in an institution with many and varied activities. . . . We consider it important that the Colleges should, while growing in scope and numbers, preserve their distinctive character. Hence we envisage that they

might expand by developing courses in social welfare and the varied occupations sharing the concern of teachers with children and young persons in society—youth leaders, child care officers, probation officers, social service workers. . . .

It should be noted that this suggestion of Colleges of Professional Education (in which all would have the inspiration of a common vocational purpose) is quite a different proposition from the suggestion (which has been canvassed in some quarters) of Liberal Arts Colleges—a nebulous idea anyway, and one that would seem to imply the dissociation of professional training from general education.

3. GOVERNMENT OF THE COLLEGES

The establishment of the training college "pool", by which the cost of maintaining training colleges is shared among L.E.A.'s, whether they possess colleges or not, is a recognition that the training of teachers is a national responsibility. There can be little doubt that the administration of training colleges by L.E.A.'s is already out of date. The A.T.C.D.E. Memorandum describes the present system, at the local level, as "inconsistent, piecemeal and parochial". The constitution and powers of governing bodies vary greatly as between voluntary colleges and L.E.A. colleges, and between one L.E.A. and another. Some colleges have no separate governing body of their own.

The logic of development would seem to be towards the removal of the colleges from the L.E.A.'s, and towards the establishment of a national body, similar to the University Grants Committee, or possibly a sub-committee of the U.G.C., to negotiate between the Treasury and the governing bodies of the colleges. The machinery of the Institutes of Education (to which the colleges are already responsible in academic matters) might be used to co-ordinate the annual budgeting of the colleges on a regional basis.

4. DEGREES IN THE COLLEGES

The extension of the training college course to three years, together with a natural desire within the teaching profession for equality of status, has generated a good deal of discussion about the level of the award at the end of the three-year course, and its relation to the first degree of a university.

It has been suggested that the three-year course at a training college should lead to a degree. It is very unlikely, however, that the universities would accept this suggestion. And, if something called a

degree were awarded by some body other than a university, it would inevitably be a sub-standard qualification and would carry less prestige than the first degree of a university. If confusion is to be avoided, it must be assumed that all degrees would be awarded by universities.

A more modest suggestion is that the attainment of a satisfactory standard in the main academic subject of the three-year college course should qualify for remission of part of the course for a university degree. The difficulty about this suggestion is that universities are unlikely to agree to the remission of more than one of the three years of the degree course, with the result that a student, having done three years at a training college, would have to do two more at a university before he could put B.A. or B.Sc. after his name. Few are likely to spend five years in this way.

A more practical proposal is that the universities should offer, by means of a one-year course of full-time study, a professional degree (say, a B.Ed.) to the course for which might be admitted college-trained students who had done sufficiently well in the three-year course, together with other specified kinds of non-graduate teacher (such as those with five years' approved professional experience).

The opinion of the A.T.C.D.E. is that the ablest students in certain courses in the training colleges should have an opportunity to gain degrees. One suggested pattern would consist of three subjects, two of them corresponding with those of a general degree in a university and the third consisting of the professional study of Education. The Memorandum does not make it quite clear whether the A.T.C.D.E. contemplates the award of such a degree solely on the work of the three-year course at the college, or whether further study at a university would be required.

There is, however, another approach to the whole question of opening up opportunities for the non-graduate teacher to get a degree—namely by increasing the opportunities for non-graduate teachers to enter for higher degrees. There has been, since World War II, a very notable development of opportunities for further training of all kinds. The development of further training is a good thing in itself; experience proves that a teacher with some years practical experience gets far more out of a one-year's course of study than an inexperienced student. It may well be that, in our concern to enable training college students to get B.A.'s and B.Sc.'s, we are putting the emphasis in the wrong place, and that the better and more realistic policy would be to by-pass the first degree and concentrate

on improving the opportunities by which non-graduate teachers, with approved experience, could enter for a Master's degree in education.

Some universities already have provisions by which non-graduate teachers can be admitted to courses leading to higher degrees. The enlargement of these opportunities requires a liberal attitude on the part of the universities, together with more generous arrangements for the release of teachers, on salary, to take courses of further study. The more we can develop further training, the less concerned need we be about the inadequacy of the present initial training, for we should then come to see the initial training simply *as* initial training and not as a foredoomed attempt to produce a finished product.

5. INSTITUTES OF EDUCATION

The Institutes of Education have well proved themselves. They represent one of this country's few original contributions in the field of education since World War II, and have aroused interest abroad. In the most fully developed Institutes the connexion between the University Department of Education and the Institute is so close that the whole thing could not be dismembered without serious injury to all the parts. Much of what the Institutes have achieved could not have been done without the authority and backing of the universities.

This is not to say that the Institutes, as they now are, fulfil all that was adumbrated in the McNair Report. It is now 17 years since that Report was published. Many people now in responsible positions have never read it, and others have forgotten it. It would be worth while to re-examine the McNair programme to see what unfulfilled possibilities it still holds.

However that may be, there is a strong case for the view that the Institutes of Education should be maintained and developed, and that the connexion of the colleges with the universities should be strengthened, not weakened, in the future.

The Institutes of Education are university-centred partnerships of the various agencies concerned in the training of teachers and the study of education. They have four main functions, which are interrelated:

- (a) the initial training of teachers;
- (b) the further training of experienced teachers;
- (c) educational research (including provision of library facilities and publication of the results of research);
- (d) services to teachers in the schools (conferences, courses, libraries, etc.).

An Institute of Education, backed by the authority of a university and enjoying the freedom of a university, can accomplish things that could not be done in any other way. No other organisation could so effectively bring together, in working unity, the four functions mentioned above and provide common ground for the study of education over the whole field from infant school to university. Moreover, the university has a responsibility towards the whole educational system, to ensure that teaching at all stages is as good as possible, not only for the sake of future university students, but for the sake of the nation as a whole.

Educational research offers a clear example of the value of the university-centred organisation of the Institutes. By means of this organisation it is possible to bring together effectively the experts in research techniques (who may constitute a central headquarters staff), the lecturers in training colleges and the teachers in the schools—i.e. the people who know at first-hand the problems that need solution, the people who are in a position to organise and take part in team research, and the people who can advise on techniques and co-ordinate local efforts.

Another field in which closer co-operation between universities and colleges, through the Institute machinery, is indicated is that of advanced courses of study. If, as was suggested earlier, there is to be a great development of advanced studies in education, the colleges must take their full share in work which, up to now, has been mainly concentrated in the universities.

It is worth stressing, in passing, the importance of the University Departments of Education continuing their present threefold job of research, advanced training, and initial training. It is highly desirable that the colleges should in future take a bigger share in advanced courses and in the initial training of graduate teachers. But that does not mean that the University Departments of Education should cease to do these things. They ought to retain their share of initial training because it keeps them in practical touch with schools and helps to ensure that the rest of their work (especially research) is down-to-earth. It would be a calamity if the University Departments of Education were to lose their practical connexion with schools and initial training and become places where Education was studied in academic insulation.

Finally, it may not be too fanciful to suggest that there may in future be a place for other types of University Institute, on the general lines of the Institutes of Education. There might be Insti-

tutes of Social Science (in which the training of social service workers would be centred on the Social Science Departments of universities) and Institutes of Technology (in which the technological departments of the universities would be a centre for appropriate technical colleges other than the Colleges of Advanced Technology, which will become university institutions in their own right). The operation of institutes of this kind need not add to the burdens of a university's central administration, since their administration could be as self-contained as that of the Institutes of Education.

WHY TEACH HISTORY? THE ANSWER OF FIFTY YEARS

by A. ROGERS

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I

The most noticeable features in the study of history in English schools are a lack of historical instruction, a common failure to recognise the value of history, and a certain incoherence and general confusion.

Report of the American Historical Association Committee, 1899.

AT about the turn of the century history had just won its acceptance as a subject in the school curriculum. There were some devoted adherents of the subject pressing its claims hard; but in general the specific values of history were ignored. The acceptance was grudging and followed the more vigorous welcome which the subject had received in the universities and public schools. But once in the curriculum, it soon became firmly established (1). In fact there were some who thought that history bid fair to displace classics as the core of the curriculum. The subject was pressed into service for all kinds of ends—to arouse patriotism, to educate for citizenship, even to strengthen the League of Nations! To-day, the fixed methods and attitudes of the past half-century of history teachers, and the acknowledged difficulties of the subject which have always been recognised (2), have led many people to doubt the value of its inclusion in the curriculum. The wheel has turned full circle. History, it is argued, is an adult study and in its present form should be left to adults. Pleading once more for a greater measure of correlation, they suggest social studies as an alternative.

This changing attitude to history teaching has been moulded by two changes—in educational theory and in historical philosophy. Educational theory and practice have altered greatly in the last fifty years. Four main developments have influenced the general attitude to history. First, a better psychology of learning has resulted in vastly improved *methods* of instruction. Learning is based on interest and activity. Secondly (in order to base training on interest), there came

that movement which might be labelled "paedocentricity". The child, his interests and limitations, became central in educational theory. The effect upon the *content* of historical instruction was marked. Thirdly, the emphasis upon the imparting of attitudes rather than facts has had a great influence upon both the content and the methods of history teaching in schools. And lastly (and in some cases most decisively), the system of school examinations which has grown up over the last fifty years has acted as a drag upon instruction, making for conservatism in content and methods; it has limited the aims of the teacher, whatever his views on the intrinsic values of the subject (3). Only in some of the earlier elementary schools (where too often the staff were not specialist and thus were likely to be limited in their approach to the subject) and among the more hopeful secondary modern school, where the shadow of examinations has so far not been felt, has any determined effort been made to assess the values of history and the methods whereby these values could best be imparted. There has been much talk but little done. Recently, owing to the strong challenge made by the social studies, educationists have had to rethink the position of history in schools. Hence the wide discussion at all levels on the value of history. The influence of this has been felt even in the grammar schools where the traditional methods of formal instruction have held sway for so long. It is being generally recognised that examination work need only take two years—the first three years are thus freer for the exercise through history of those values which may be found in it.

But these values are, and have been, a matter of controversy. Not even the professional historians are agreed. At the turn of the century historians were self-confident. They acknowledged that they did not know everything but they were sure that their methods were sufficient to discover everything (4). Their interpretation of history was that "Whig Interpretation" which Professor Butterfield found reason to castigate so severely in 1931, but which is by no means dead yet. The past only occurred to produce the present, they felt. The rise of democracy, and especially of British democracy, was the purpose of history and it gave the British a mission to the rest of the world. A study of history would show how best to fulfil this mission.

The historian to-day is a humbler man, for he has regained his sense of proportion. The scope and the sources of history have increased beyond control (5). The "settled conclusions" are no longer settled; the fixed prejudices of our forefathers are no longer fixed. King John is no longer a "bad" king. Some historians replaced the

rise of democracy by "the march of human beings to free themselves from the slavery of animalism"—which is but another way of putting the older view of human progress as "the growth from savagery to civilisation" (6). This is seen on a world-wide scale, not national. The heritage of the pupils is no longer the British Empire of the world. They belong to mankind. But the majority of historians have buried the idea of human progress—the events of the past fifty years have proved too strong in their ruthless logic. Most of the enthusiasm has died; everything has become uncertain. The most that some historians will say about history now is that man is in the middle of a stream, but he is not sure where it will lead. The golden age does not necessarily lie in the future; nor does history tell us anything about that future. The past is not studied for the sake of the present but because all knowledge is valuable for its own sake. History no longer comprises those things from the present which we can see in the past; but all past human experience is history.

Historical philosophy has passed through three stages in the last fifty years. It began as a description of the rise of political organisation and consciousness—the Whig interpretation of history. It then expanded to become the rise of civilisation on an international level—the humanistic interpretation. And now "the only lesson that history teaches is that history teaches us nothing". It is from these philosophies that teachers took their values and aims. And to-day when it has been asserted that history has no value in schools, the position must be re-assessed. For the values claimed for history will affect the aims; and aims will affect content and methods. Most attention will be given to the intrinsic values of history as a school subject. Its usefulness as a general educational means will be assumed.

In this study of the values which history teachers have seen in their subject, one note of warning needs to be sounded about the sources used. Reformers have a way of painting things blacker than they are. Methods of teaching history which have been practised for long have been suggested as something novel. On the other hand, however, the fact that an aim or method was advocated at any time is no guarantee that it was at all widely practised. Indeed it was probably the contrary. At any one time within the same school, the most advanced and the most conservative methods may be practised at the same time. We see that in Manchester High School in 1909 (7), and the position is the same to-day. Advanced methods and formal instruction exist side by side. One of the most valuable lessons from this study is that methods must never become rigid—or they die.

An estimate of the value of each of the sources needs to be made—whether they were conservative (as most of the Board (later Ministry) of Education publications tended to be); or whether they were advanced. Often they claimed to be advanced when in fact they were not.

One of the things which must be guarded against is too great generalisation about the early teaching of history. It has been asserted that the ideas concerning the methods and content of history at the beginning of this century were inflexible (8). But anyone who has looked at the pamphlets and the reports on the conferences of the Historical Association between 1906 and 1910 will know that these ideas were constantly challenged. There was much discussion and even heat over the teaching of history in schools.

It is surprising to find that all the intrinsic values of history were mentioned at one stage or another during this great debate, the first flush of enthusiasm of the Association. Some of them were underrated, others overstressed, but they are all present, scattered in formidable array throughout the early publications of the Association. What is especially important to notice is that these values were attitudes rather than knowledge of historical facts. There were the formal teachers, for whom to "remember . . . is the great need, the supreme difficulty of every student of history"; there were some whose only idea was to drum a lot of facts into the heads of their pupils (9). But the facts were movements and trends, rather than dates—"the laws which regulate the political organisms" of State and Nation. The idea that history teachers were only concerned to teach dates is not wholly borne out by this discussion. Professor Pollard strikes a modern note when he condemns "the unintelligent conception of history as merely a matter of facts and dates", and emphasises that "dates are only learnt to give sequence and that to get at causes" (10).

The attitudes which it was thought the study of history would provide were chiefly social ones. Almost all the writers at this time were agreed that history was one of the best trainings in citizenship. "It is the province of history", said the Board of Education's first edition of their *Suggestions to Teachers* (1905), "to trace how these rights and duties [of citizenship] arise"; to "give them a feeling for history as the record not merely of events in which the mass of the nation have little personal concern, but also of movements in which each one of us may take an active and intelligent part". This is not to be achieved through formal instruction in citizenship—that is to be left until the senior classes. But it is a concomitant of the study of

history. It is achieved in three ways. First, in a comparison of ourselves with other people; the pupils "should learn something about our nationality which distinguishes them (the pupils) from the people of other countries" and thus strengthens their patriotism. A "time-sense" is of less importance than patriotism. Secondly, an understanding of "the nature of the forces which govern the life of the nation", an understanding of the present and of "our heritage", will strengthen citizenship. And thirdly, history will provide moral examples and standards. History is "a record of the influence for good or for evil exercised by great personalities". These examples must of course be British, but when "dealing with times of conflict with other peoples, the teaching should do full justice to those who are national heroes in other countries" (11).

Such a position was re-echoed time and again in the Historical Association conferences, 1907-10. The main value of history was citizenship—to understand the present in relation to the past; to see social movements and to perceive how slowly changes come about (a very doubtful lesson of history). "The prime object of history is to make the child, and therefore the man, realise that he is the citizen of no mean city or state, and that he forms a link in the present between its past and its future history", "to develop the sense of patriotism and of nationality" (12). One speaker in the conference could appeal, "Many, perhaps most of us, aim in our history lessons at cherishing that spirit of patriotism" which leads to love of heroes and their ideals and to social service (13). Nations have characters which must be handed on and a study of history is the means to preserve them. The aim of history teaching, another claims, "is not for the pupil to learn history, but to receive a training in citizenship" (14). Only one person seemed to doubt whether the school history lesson was the best way to train citizens (15).

"Good citizenship" consisted of two things—basic information necessary for the execution of the rights and duties of citizenship, and secondly, attitudes of mind, strength of character. Both of these the study of history at school could help to give by providing the necessary knowledge. This knowledge was thought of mainly in terms of understanding the present. "History wants to show you how the present is the result of the past" (16). Changes did not always happen quickly and the pupil should see long sweeps of history, so that he can see the movements and trends, and thus understand the present. History is thought of in terms of "laws which regulate political organisms". A study of the past is useful to a study of the

future in politics. "I would aim at making the little child of that age [10-12!] observant of the things which lie round him", to cultivate the "faculty of careful observation". "It is the immediate world round about them that appeals to little children", says the same speaker. "It should awake an interest in contemporary politics", suggests another teacher of history (17).

And the study of history can mould character. One of the most interesting addresses was that of G. T. Hankin in February 1909 on the teaching of civics (18). He laid great emphasis on the value of contemporary history. His argument was that education in general and history in particular should produce that attitude of self-sacrifice which puts the honour and welfare of the whole before the individual. "The English Public School system", he claims, "should produce the very perfect citizen." The British Empire needed men with the qualities of a great colonising nation. Therefore, he urged that biographies should not be taught in history as this would encourage the pupil to be dependent on leadership. Teachers should exalt humble civic virtues so that the pupils saw themselves as part of an Empire with duties to perform. Someone else asserted, "An atmosphere laden with the . . . ideals of the race is . . . the most potent influence in moulding character" (19). The idea of the discipline of history was put forward—"I do not think education is complete unless it introduces pupils to real hard work on their own account", was the verdict of an educational inspector (20).

The teaching staff in these early years have been divided into the "conscripts" in the elementary schools and the "professionals" in the grammar schools. It is clear that the majority of those present at this Conference fell into the latter class. They had in mind only a small group of pupils—future public servants. The same criticism is true of those who thought in terms of "the historical attitude" or "process". These had the specialist in mind; they saw all education in terms of those who would proceed to further study. Sometimes they denied this, but their methods show that they thought the value of history to lie in historical training. The study of history encourages initiative and "original thought". It was this group of teachers who provided the most outspoken criticism of the "history for citizenship" school of teachers. "The making of citizens is not the main object of teaching history." Rather, history stimulated scientific imagination and encouraged inquiry into the past. The aim of the history teacher was to promote a "taste for history and historical consciousness". Selection of material and judgment passed on it will

equip the pupils to face the problems of life. Some were quite explicit that their aim was to give the pupils the methods of study and encourage them to continue further study when they have left school (21).

Such a position is more vehemently denied than supported. "A certain amount of training of the judgment can perhaps be done at school, but only to a very limited extent." "The pupil cannot select; his mind is not matured, he does not possess sufficient power of grasp." The use of sources is not to be encouraged in school history if the pupil is expected to arrive at first-hand judgments and generalisations; it will foster "intellectual superficiality and conceit", an imitation of the scientific method (22). The movement to train "juvenile antiquarians" was severely denounced. It is not yet dead.

What were the values suggested then for the ordinary child who was not going to be a statesman or a scholar?

The main value of history was a sense of proportion. This was often linked with understanding the present (23). But it meant more than that; the pupils would begin to see things in perspective. "The great object of teaching history is to enable people to realise that men were very different formerly from what they are now; that this world in which we are now is not a normal world; that there is not such a thing as a normal world; that the world is constantly changing and developing" (24). Great emphasis was laid upon developing a "time-sense"—which seems to have meant to most people an adequate framework within which the pupils could fit their history and themselves (25). The first use of history, according to Professor Hearnshaw, was "to take them [the pupils] out of the narrow sphere of home or school, and to show them that there were other ages, other countries, other people" (26). Associated with this view was an understanding not only of the stream of time but of causal relationships. "Our real business at school lies with the implanting of connected views" (27). This is the so-called "historic sense". Professor Pollard's statement concerning dates reminds us of his philosophy of history as an evolution.

The most prominent of all the personal values of history was the strengthening of the imagination—and by it, the spirit of sympathy and tolerance. This was, of course, often thought of as part of "education in citizenship", but not always. By a study of history we see people in action and we try to assess their motives, to see their point of view. "We should feel history rather than learn it as a lesson"—although the same speaker went on to say that modern

history could not feed the imagination at all and he rather doubted whether school history as it was taught then could (28). But he suggested that the duty of the teacher was to feed the imagination and thus *indirectly* make the pupil a better citizen. Interest must be aroused and encouraged, as well as imagination. Some suggested that the pupil already had the interest; others that it was to be implanted in him. But those who spoke of interest conceived it to be desirable not only to the learning process but to the cultured individual (29). The romantic and dramatic aspects of history were emphasised. But the moral value of history which Arnold and his contemporaries saw in history had now fallen into disrepute. Some teachers spoke most strongly against it (30). There was also an intellectual value in history: the memory is trained; the pupil learns accuracy and impartiality; and above all, he is introduced to a field in which wide general ideas have become concrete (31).

Mr Gwyther summed up the attitude of this last group of teachers. The aim was the self-development of the pupil, to make him think and work for himself (32). One person saw a value in history for its own sake, and as a means to satisfy that hunger and thirst for knowledge which must be fed—"but not", she warned, "on potted meats" (33). But for the majority, who together supported these personal aims in history teaching, enthusiasm was the first and last word. "We are not handing on parcels of knowledge", said one headmistress who in other ways was most conservative in her outlook on the content and methods of school history teaching; "we are kindling a fire" (34). And she spoke for many.

Thus we can see the three major schools of thought—those who believed in "history for citizenship"; those who thought of the benefits of the historical process and attitude; and those who thought of personal culture and enlarged interests and sympathies. "Fifty years ago", said Sir Charles Webster in 1956, "there was no order or arrangement of the history teaching in nearly all secondary and public schools" (35). There was however much heart-searching and questioning. It is quite obvious how these different values affected the immediate aim of the teacher. The first group aimed at bringing out the responsibilities of the citizen and explaining how present society came to exist. Content and methods were adapted to these ends. The second group tried to make the pupils perform much the same tasks as the writer of this paper! But let no-one despise their efforts. Most of the modern methods of instruction and construction—time charts, maps, development charts, visual aids and even the

"assignment scheme"—were advocated as early as 1908-10 (36). But so often the embryo historian was still-born. The third group aimed at interest—and failed because they aimed at nothing more, and soon lost their vision. The final conclusion of these Conferences was a recognition that "there is, then, no single good way of teaching history" (37). They were concerned with method, and they failed to realise that their differences lay in the aims and values which they saw in the subject.

But works on the teaching of history continued to appear. In 1910, M. W. Keatinge with his *Studies in the Teaching of History* (in which he advocated the use of documents and sources in school to make history real to the pupils) undammed a stream which has since become a torrent—"a restless spawning of books on new techniques", as a modern writer has put it (38). In 1911, two important works appeared—Professor Pollard's assessment of the *Educational Value of the Study of History*, and the Report of the L.C.C. on the *Teaching of History in London Elementary Schools*. Neither of these advances the argument further. Professor Pollard does not agree with education for citizenship. The values of history, he claims, lie in the sense of perspective it gives. It provides the background to present civilisation. It enables modern society to be compared not with Utopia but with another concrete example of attempts at social organisation. He views history as a causal evolution—and the study of history gives "the explanation of how mankind reached its present state of development as individuals, as societies, as nations and as empires". He no longer sees history teaching confined to British or even Imperial history, but as world history—an idea which had been aired in the earlier discussions. He sees its values in extended imagination and sympathy. "History is the most humane of the humarer studies." It leads to tolerance and relativity of moral standards; it cannot be used for moral instruction. And it leads its students into the realm of ideas, by concrete examples, and shows how they are relative to the times. It warns that there is no one answer to every problem. And it shows—or should show—the truth about man. He condemns the school education which "sacrifices the truth that is to be expressed to the methods of expression, and which prefers the study of language to the study of man".

The L.C.C. Report on the other hand supports the citizenship value of history. It is "an indispensable element in the training of a citizen". The final aim of history teaching is to bring home to the pupil a sense of his responsibilities for the future of society—a spirit

of duty. "Without History, Citizenship has no root; without Citizenship, History has no fruit." Again, it is to understand "the organic connexion between the living present and the historical past". But "mere knowledge is not historical understanding". "The study of history alone provides the background which enables us to see political issues in their due perspective." It is a corrective against "excessive party spirit and sensational journalism". In the junior school, history had no intrinsic merits, it was merely one means to create interest and cultivate intelligence, and was not to instruct or to impart knowledge. Also it was valuable as a means of training in expression. But in the elementary schools, some values could be learned from the lives of great men and women. Whatever these values might be, they were not moral values, for that was denied later as a purpose of history teaching. The data of history is uncertain; it must stimulate the pupil to make his own "judgment of men's thoughts and feelings through their acts". Thus history strengthens mental powers; it creates a demand for exact truth; and it gives a basis for intelligent understanding and action in the present. The pupil cannot understand relationships between events—it is the personal element which appeals to him. Historical perspective must be preserved. But whatever additional values it may have, "the fundamental object of history teaching is to inculcate the doctrine of patriotism in its wider sense, both local and national".

To be concluded

REFERENCES

1. In 1911, most elementary schools in London had two or three periods per week—L.C.C. Report, p. 12. See also the Board of Education's Circular on the Teaching of History, 1908.
2. The difficulties of teaching history have not been unearthed only recently as some would have us believe. In 1905, the wide scope, and the doubtful and controversial nature of some conclusions were mentioned (Board of Educ., *Suggestions to Teachers*, 1st edn., 61); in 1907, one teacher said, "Sometimes I wonder whether it is worth while to try to teach such history to young children", *Historical Association, Pamphlet 4*, p. 9. The child's lack of experience and concept of significance, the fact that history deals chiefly with abstract and general ideas and other difficulties were also mentioned, *Hist. Assoc. Pamphlet 11*, pp. 3, 14, etc. In 1913, C. R. L. Fletcher, in his *Introductory History of England*, said, "For English history as part of a school curriculum or as a means of education, I have no regard at all." "There were others who had it that history, being mature and

complex 'all the way' like political ideas, is not properly for schools at all." But Beales (*Hist. Assoc. Jubilee Addresses*, 1956, p. 58) dissents.

3. For the effects of examinations on the curriculum noted as early as 1909, cf. *Hist. Assoc. Pamphlet 24*, the discussion on the *Hist. Assoc.* resolutions to get history included in the school-leaving exams.
4. cf. G. P. Gooch—"for now we know it in all its length and breadth and depth . . ." in F. C. Happold, *The Approach to History*, p. viii.
5. cf. Professor Sir Charles Webster, *Fifty Years of Change in Historical Teaching and Research*, *Hist. Assoc. Jubilee Addresses*, pp. 29-48. "The claim to derive from these unstable foundations laws which determine the destiny of mankind is a spurious one which does more harm than good. One must add that the assumption of omniscience is repugnant to all the instincts of the scholar."
6. *Teaching History*, Min. Ed. Pamphlet 23, p. 12; G. P. Gooch, loc. cit.
7. Pamphlets 17, pp. 1-7; 19, pp. 1-4.
8. Beales, op. cit., p. 51—"the stereotyped attitude to content and method then . . .".
9. Pamphlet 10 (Jan. 1908); cf. Pamphlet 19, p. 21.
10. Pamphlet 19, p. 21; *Educational Value of the Study of History*, p. 3.
11. *Suggestions*, 1905, pp. 61-65, App. IV.
12. Pamphlet 11, p. 12.
13. Pamphlet 17, p. 2.
14. Pamphlet 24, p. 15.
15. ibid., p. 20.
16. Pamphlet 4, p. 5; cf. Pamphlet 10, p. 2, and Pamphlet 11, pp. 12, 14.
17. Pamphlet 19, p. 10.
18. Pamphlet 15 (Feb. 1909).
19. Pamphlet 17, p. 2.
20. Pamphlet 19, p. 20.
21. e.g. Pamphlet 4, pp. 5-7; cf. Pamphlets 17; 19, pp. 5-8; and 24, p. 19.
22. Pamphlet 19, pp. 1-4, 5-8; cf. Pamphlet 11, p. 2.
23. e.g. Pamphlet 11, p. 2.
24. Pamphlet 4, p. 4.
25. Pamphlet 10, pp. 3-5.
26. Pamphlet 11, pp. 10-11.
27. ibid., p. 2.
28. Pamphlet 19, pp. 5-9.
29. Pamphlet 24, p. 16.
30. Pamphlet 19, p. 7.
31. ibid., p. 8; Pamphlet 11, p. 14.
32. Pamphlet 19, pp. 21-22.
33. Pamphlet 17, p. 2.; cf. Pamphlet 24, p. 19.
34. Pamphlet 19, pp. 1-2.
35. *Jubilee Addresses*, p. 35.
36. cf., for example, Pamphlet 17.
37. Pamphlet 19, p. 24; cf. p. 8.
38. Beales, op. cit, p. 57.

ECONOMICS AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

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I. PRECARIOUS EXPANSION

“**M**ARGINAL”, that keyword of economic analysis, may well be applied to the present position of Economics in the secondary school curriculum. It should at once be stated that Economics in this paper connotes primarily a distinct and separate subject, studied systematically and fairly comprehensively, as a rule with a view to an external examination. Thus the question of informal teaching of Economics, incidental to courses in History or Geography, or as part of amorphous courses in Current Affairs or General Studies, lies outside the scope of this article. On the somewhat narrow but workable definition above, most schools do not teach Economics at all; among those that do, courses offered vary from school to school, and the subject sometimes has a rather inferior status, being taken by only a small number of weaker sixth formers. At the same time, there is little doubt that in recent years Economics has been gaining ground fast in selective secondary schools.

In one sense the subject has a longer tradition in schools than in universities, with which it is normally associated. In 1805 the East India Co. appointed no less an economist than the Rev. Thomas Malthus, author of *An essay on the principle of population*, to teach Political Economy to the cadets at its college at Haileybury (1), whereas Oxford, Cambridge, and the new University of London did not establish chairs in the subject until the 1820's. During the following century, however, Economics became popular—at times even fashionable—among undergraduates, but was left severely alone by schools. During the inter-war period 1918-39 some schools ran experimental courses, partly under the influence of the activities of the Association for Education in Citizenship (2), but the numbers of Economics candidates taking the approved secondary school examinations were negligible. In 1935, when the annual Report of the Board of Education (3) included for the first time an analysis of external examination results by subjects, only 284 scholars in England

and Wales took Economics as a School Certificate subject and 199 as a Higher S.C. option; while in 1938, the last pre-war year for which a similar Report was issued, the respective numbers rose to 367 and fell to 179. (To bring these figures into perspective, it should be noted that in e.g. Geography in 1938 the corresponding numbers were 53,335 and 1,795.)

The most interesting fact about Economics in the first post-war Report of the new Ministry of Education, that for 1947, was the 1:1 ratio of School Certificate to Higher S.C. candidates (645:638), and, although less pronouncedly, this ratio has been maintained in the 1950's under a new scheme. Since the inception of the G.C.E. in 1951, the increase in the number of candidates in Economics has proceeded at a greater rate than in most other subjects (the figures for 1951, when 1,593 'O' level and 1,181 'A' level Economics candidates presented themselves, cannot be fairly compared with those for subsequent years, mainly because of a lower pass standard):

TABLE I

	'O' level entry	% increase on previous year	'A' level entry	% increase on previous year
1952	1838	—	1394	—
1953	2100	14.2%	1563	12.1%
1954	2338	11.3%	1874	19.9%
1955	2842	21.5%	2129	13.6%
1956	2825	-0.6%	2653	24.6%
1957	3652	29.2%	3230	21.8%
1958	4374	19.8%	3729	15.4%
1959	4916	12.4%	3903	4.7%
1960	5732	16.7%	5084	30.3%

In the incomplete decade 1952-60, the number of candidates in Economics at 'O' level rose by 212%, and at 'A' level by 265%. The respective G.C.E. expansion figures for entries in all subjects, including Economics, were 93% and 98%. It has been possible to obtain data for 1961 from only 4 examining boards, but they average an increase of 33.9% at 'O' level and 32.8% at 'A' level. This clearly points to a continued expansion of Economics at an extremely high rate.

It would be slightly misleading to assume that this increase has resulted wholly from the growing popularity of Economics in schools. The subject has always attracted a relatively large proportion of more mature external candidates (4), prepared by institutions of further

education or by private study. Thus in the period 1952-58, external G.C.E. entrants of the Joint Matriculation Board constituted annually between 4·5% and 5·9% of the internal numbers, whereas in Economics they constituted, e.g., 9% at 'O' level in 1958 and at 'A' level in 1955 (5). The bulk of the increase, therefore, must still be credited to growing Economics sections in schools.

Even in absolute terms, the share of Economics as a G.C.E. subject continues to be meagre only at 'O' level. The 5,732 candidates of 1960 pale into insignificance beside the 125,236 Geography candidates, and constitute a mere 0·35% of the total entry of 1,603,894. At 'A' level, however, the Economics figure of 5,084 compares by no means contemptibly with the 11,630 Geographers, and constitutes an impressive 2·3% of the total entry of 213,993. Indeed, among boys only 7 subjects produced more 'A' level candidates, namely English, French, History, Geography, Pure and Applied Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry (taking both sexes into consideration, 4 others, Latin, Zoology, Biology and Art, also overtook Economics).

There has been some controversy about the place of Economics in the secondary school, but singularly little fact-finding, preliminary to a fuller analysis. The present position is an uneasy mixture of precariousness and expansion. It is a case of a rapid but insecure growth, an unhealthy situation. It is hoped, in this article, to throw some further light upon it.

2. RESULTS OF AN INQUIRY

(a) *The sample*

To provide a factual basis for the present discussion, a questionnaire was sent out to 65 schools in the central and western Midlands. Numerically this was a quarter of the selective schools in the area. 60 forms were completed and returned, frequently accompanied by valuable comments. While gratefully acknowledging the courteous co-operation of the headmasters, headmistresses, and Economics teachers concerned, one would like to think that this excellent response also reflects a widespread genuine interest in, and anxiety about, the place of Economics in the school curriculum. The questionnaire technique was in some cases supplemented by personal interviews or an exchange of letters.

The sample was made up of slightly over two-thirds of grammar schools, co-educational, boys' and girls'; and under one-third of other types of selective secondary schools: comprehensive, bilateral,

and technical. Basically a representative sample (6), it was biased in favour of schools likely to offer courses in Economics, by including in it only relatively large schools, viz. those with at least 300 pupils. The assumption that most small schools were unlikely to teach borderline subjects seemed reasonable, and the bias was imparted to the sample because positive replies, i.e. from schools offering Economics, would, on the whole, be more pertinent than negative ones. For the same reason it was, reluctantly, decided not to include secondary modern schools in the survey. Some of them offer Economics (at least one in Birmingham has a flourishing 'O' level group), but the great, if diminishing, majority do not enter candidates for examinations of the G.C.E. calibre, and the others tend to concentrate either on basic subjects (English, Mathematics) or on the non-academic ones (Art, Woodwork) (7).

(b) Facts

Fourteen of the sixty schools which answered the questionnaire offered courses in Economics (8). This constituted approx. 23% of the sample. This is a rather larger proportion than may have been expected, although, in fact, an inquiry in 1954 in 117 schools in England and Wales uncovered 34 'A' level and 7 'O' level courses (9), while in 1957 the University of London disclosed that of 525 schools taking its 'A' level examinations 91 offered Economics, and of 687 schools entering 'O' level candidates, 93 did so (10).

The proportion over the whole country may well be higher than 23%, since the teaching of Economics in schools does not appear to be as widespread in the Midlands as in the London area and Lancashire, if the distribution of the membership of the Economics Association (11) and one's personal observation are admissible evidence. It is not unreasonable to presume that the 5 schools which failed to answer the questionnaire do not teach Economics, and therefore that the figure of 23% is exaggerated, but this is more than offset by 3 schools in the sample which are to introduce Economics in 1961 or 1962, while 3 others have similar but less precise plans. Moreover, 5 schools, in which Economics is not taught, run 'O' level courses in Commerce, involving systematic study of some aspects of economic activity.

Economics thus occupied a prominent place in the time-tables of, at the most, 6 of the 14 schools teaching it. The small number of students is due partly to the uncertainty of those concerned about the suitability of the subject, and the pupils' unfamiliarity with it

TABLE 2

Schools offering Economics (12)

Type of School	Approx. total of pupils	G.C.E. Economics entries		
		'O'	'60 and '61	'A'
I Mixed G.S.	850	19	23	0 13
II Mixed G.S.	400	0	9	0 0
III Boys' G.S. (Indep.)	600	6	3	14 18
IV Boys' G.S. (Indep.)	700	0	18	20 14
V Boys' G.S. (Indep.)	700	0	0	5 9
VI Boys' G.S.	550	0	2	0 0
VII Boys' G.S.	900	0	0	0 1
VIII Boys' G.S.	450	0	0	1 5
IX Boys' G.S.	650	25	26	10 23
X Mixed Tech. S.	700	26	16	3 7
XI Mixed G./Comm. S.	800	2	1	5 2
XII Boys' G./Mod. S.	400	10	10	10 10
XIII Mixed Compreh. S.	2000	0	0	0 0
XIV Boys' Compreh. S.	1500	6	8	2 6

when choice of sixth form subjects is made. More important, probably, is the fact that in many schools which offer it, Economics is a relative newcomer, looked upon as something of an experiment. Of the 14 schools set out above, it was firmly established in 5 (2 had offered it for 11-20 years and 3 for 6-10 years), and likewise in 5 it was still in its curricular infancy (in 3 the first year was just completed, and 2 had had it for two years). This pattern is not unlikely to hold good for the country as a whole.

Courses offered in Economics vary more than do those in traditional subjects. For one thing, the contents stipulated by examining boards differ considerably, e.g. one sets no papers in Economics as such but in Economic and Public Affairs; not all of them set 'O' level papers. Moreover, internal arrangements within individual schools follow no common pattern. Of the 14 schools listed above, in only one was Economics treated as an 'O' level subject for the fifth forms and an 'A' level option for sixth formers; one treated it as an additional 'O' subject for sixth formers; five offered it only as a straightforward 'A' level alternative; and seven required their pupils to sit the 'O' or 'AO' level examination after the first year and the 'A' level examination after the second year in the sixth form (the merits and drawbacks of this apparently widely favoured scheme both derive mainly from the fact that the contents of most 'O' and 'A' level

Economics syllabuses are to a very large extent identical, though, naturally, the levels of treatment differ).

(c) *Opinions*

The crucial question addressed to the headmasters and head-mistresses of schools without Economics courses, was: "Would you favour or oppose the introduction of Economics in your school?"

Significantly, of the 46 schools in this category, no fewer than 30 declared themselves in favour of introducing Economics, although in most cases certain general misgivings were voiced or some practical difficulties pointed out. 8 answers were undecided, either because the balance of advantages and disadvantages was felt to be about equal, or because it was freely admitted that the question had not been given much thought. In 8 cases (13% of the answers) the introduction of Economics would not be entertained. It is of interest that 16 answers either made it clear that it was taken for granted that the idea applied only to the sixth form, or explicitly stated so, or went even further by saying that it seemed a worthwhile subject for the sixth form but definitely not below 'O' level; 4 other answers favoured Economics as a sixth form non-examination subject. There was but one school in the sample where Economics had been taught for a number of years and then dropped in 1959; however, "it had crept down to pre-'O' level year and was considered unsuitable there, but is being reintroduced in 1961-62 as a sixth form subject". With the raising of the school-leaving age it is likely that the scope for the teaching of Economics in schools will increase, as it already is increasing due to the tremendous expansion of sixth forms.

Other comments from schools otherwise favourably disposed towards Economics can be summarised thus:

Overcrowded curriculum	9 times
Shortage of staff, or of qualified Economics teachers	10 times
New school; school being reorganised	11 times
"If demand should arise"	4 times

Overcrowded curriculum was also pleaded by 2 outright opponents of Economics; 1 deemed the subject "unsuitable", and perhaps should be added to the 4 who felt that it was more appropriate to older students, making this, not unexpectedly, the widest-felt objection in this group.

Some of the obstacles to the introduction of Economics courses will be discussed in the next section; but a comment on the allegation of a shortage of specialist teachers will not be out of place here.

This could imply that few Economics graduates enter the teaching profession, and indeed one sometimes hears that the subject is taught—with mixed feelings—by Geographers or Historians. This is true to some extent, especially where Economics is not taught formally, but personal observation and answers to the questionnaire suggest otherwise. Instead of the task being allotted to an unwilling Historian or Geographer, it seems that more often the introduction of Economics is mooted by a specialist who was originally appointed to teach other subjects; rare advertisements of teaching posts specifying Economics draw very large numbers of applications from candidates with appropriate degrees; and in recent years an increasing number of social science, including Economics, graduates have been entering teaching, either upon graduating, or, frequently, after some years of industrial employment (that a considerable proportion of them should obtain posts in secondary modern schools is all to the good, but that they should then proceed to teach their non-degree subjects, seems somewhat wasteful). Furthermore, in nearly all of the 14 schools listed above, Economics formed a major part of the time-table of the teacher concerned and there was also a mention of a course in Commerce or non-examination Economics, clearly implying that the person in charge was a specialist.

If, however, by a shortage of qualified teachers is meant a lack of professionally trained teachers of Economics, this may seem a fair charge against teacher-training institutions. At present very few university Education Departments provide suitable method courses. Furthermore, bodies responsible for the provision of teachers' refresher courses and similar facilities, tend to ignore Economics. Unfortunately, the situation wherein schools complain of a shortage of teachers trained to teach Economics, while training institutions—and their students—know that there is relatively little demand for such teachers, is a vicious circle that can only gradually be broken.

Trained or untrained, the teacher of Economics labours daily under a threefold handicap: there is a comparative dearth of visual and other aids devoted to his subject; literature on teaching methods is virtually non-existent (13), and although this deficiency may not be entirely without advantages, it is, on balance, regrettable; finally, and significantly, the number of text-books written expressly for 'O' or 'A' level schoolwork can be counted on the fingers of one hand. Hence books used are generally those designed for undergraduates or for the so-called intelligent layman (14). Most of these lack suitable exercises other than strings of past examination questions,

pay little attention to visual material, and, moreover, economists, with some notable exceptions, write unattractive English. One grammar school headmaster, exercised about the lack of economic education in his school, ordered a number of books on Economics, intending to place them in the library for perusal and reference, but "found them, with one accord, so unreadable that (he) sent them all back". The question is only partly one of specialised technical vocabulary. This is to some extent inevitable, as new concepts and new or newly-observed phenomena outrun the existing resources of language. By the same token, the unstandardised and therefore confusing terminology of social sciences is partly excusable, although its ugliness is not (15); worse, books on Economics often suffer from clumsiness of style and poverty of vocabulary. After 150 years Economics has, perhaps, shaken off the sobriquet of the "dismal science" but is now charged with "overwhelming dullness". Despite these handicaps, there is no evidence that the teaching of Economics is worse—or better—than that of other subjects. The difficulties can all be surmounted by a good teacher, and there is no reason why they should not be eliminated in the course of time, if the teaching of Economics in schools continues to grow. Its growth would also increase financial incentives to able and efficient teachers who at present scarcely get a fair deal; a headmaster pointed out in this connexion that "unfortunately our L.E.A. arrangements prevent the award of a head-of-department allowance as the subject is not taught below the sixth form".

3. PRO ET CONTRA

The arguments about the place of Economics in the secondary school (16), centre less on its value than on its suitability. For it seems to be quite widely accepted, that its study develops certain desirable attitudes, and furnishes, in the world of to-day, much needful knowledge. Put broadly, it gives a sound training in logical thinking and clarity of expression, and in seeing the many-sidedness of social issues. It also provides information on a large and important area of social life. Any nation, and a parliamentary democracy in particular, should strive for a higher level of public opinion, one that is no less valuable *qua* opinion than *qua* public, being based on a critical appreciation of current issues. Thus one headmaster held that the study of Economics forms "a sound basis for intelligent citizenship". On wider grounds, too, it has been averred that "schools must provide the leavers with a rounded education at whatever age

they depart" (17), while on a strictly utilitarian plane, knowledge of Economics is useful, or even required, in a wide range of careers.

Yet when headmasters who explicitly acknowledged the value of Economics, plead overcrowded curricula or shortage of staff as reasons for not introducing it in their schools, the *implication* of these very real practical difficulties is that the subject is not regarded as an essential part of secondary education, and that therefore no traditional subject should be to any extent pushed out in order to make room for it. How are we to explain this underlying inconsistency? Two factors spring to mind: firstly, traditionalism. The teachers of to-day are the pupils of yesterday and in their yesterdays they very rarely met with Economics in their school time-tables, for it had been reserved for institutions of higher or further education. Secondly, it appears that Economics is still widely "regarded as either so difficult that [it is] unsuited for school at all, or so easy that [it] can be tackled incidentally and casually through other subjects" (18). The latter view seems not unconnected with the discredited psychological theory of transfer of training, and is rarely voiced to-day. The former, emphasising the intrinsic difficulty of Economics, is often put forward, not least by academic economists. The view of Professor (now Lord) Robbins is apparently that knowledge of Economics should be imparted only to the few in the universities—for the rest, it is presumably better to have none than to drink a dilution that dissolves the niceties and profundities of economic theory. Here the implication is by no means that the knowledge of the subject as such is unimportant, rather it is exalted, but that it is unimportant except to a small number of experts, and we must not "run the risk of inculcating bad intellectual habits by trying to teach Economics so simplified as to be suitable for their [school children's] understanding" (19).

The core of the argument stressing the difficulty of Economics as a school subject is that the theory requires considerable powers of abstract reasoning, and the study of applied Economics, if and where it can at all be divorced from theory, calls for a maturity of interests and outlook. In Professor Robbins's pregnant sentence: "No simple proposition in Economics is likely to be true unless it is understood as being subject to a whole complex of assumptions, not likely to be read into it, save by those with a sufficient knowledge of both the system of propositions as a whole and of the world of reality to which they have reference" (20). The peculiar circularity of Economics makes the sequence of topics an important question to the teacher at

any level. We have also to consider the circumstances of the birth of Economics. Any sound text-book on the history of economic thought will tell the reader that the subject has a pedigree going back to the ancient Greeks (21). This is historically correct, bearing out Sir Henry Maine's famous dictum (22), and making for a greater intellectual respectability of Economics. Yet as a comprehensive and distinct body of knowledge, fit for systematic academic study, Economics, or rather Political Economy, sprang fully grown from the head of Adam Smith with the publication of his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, as in Greek mythology Pallas Athene had sprung from the head of Zeus.

Here, it seems, is another factor hindering the normal teaching procedure from the simple to the complex, from the elementary to the advanced, in accordance with the structure of the subject and the abilities of the taught. Most other branches of knowledge were built up gradually from simple beginnings, and their rudiments, corresponding to the early stages of development, present no special intellectual difficulties in school teaching. The case of Economics is different. School courses in Economics tend to be conceived "the wrong way round": to be watered-down versions of university courses rather than naturally elementary and progressive. Yet the problem is one as much of method as of content. Basic economic concepts and facts are simple and can be taught in a simple language. As the Director of the American Joint Council on Economic Education (23) remarked: "We think that any economic concept can be taught as long as it is expressed in words students can understand and if it relates to their experience" (24). This declaration is relevant both to limited intellectual powers and to the absence of adult interests and experience, and it is the teacher's task to make economic concepts relate to his pupils' interests and experience.

These difficulties apply in a relatively small measure to the teaching of sixth formers. Their experience of life may be rather limited; but at their age highly developed but uninformed social conscience and interests are not rare. Also, their mental capacities should be equal to the challenge of the principles of Economics, and not essence of, their understanding. There is no need for the kind of mathematical sophistications that in the hands of an expert may give a more accurate analysis of economic phenomena, but to others seem to widen the divorce between economic theory and reality.

But it is hard to resist the conclusion that there is need to recon-

sider and redefine the objectives, content, and method of 'O' level courses, especially the place of economic theory in them. A right mixture of descriptive economics and discussion of current or past economic problems in their social setting, amplified by such basic concepts as opportunity cost, division of labour, or the law of diminishing returns, should not be beyond the grasp of reasonably intelligent 15-16-year-olds.

Such a revision calls for co-operation between academic and schoolteaching economists. By setting G.C.E. examinations, the universities give their consent to the teaching of Economics in schools and determine the syllabuses, but then, generally, proceed to forget or cold-shoulder the Economics teachers in schools. The latter feel neglected by their own kin, and the university faculties are annually faced with the awkward "surprise" of finding that some first-year students are completely unfamiliar with the subject while others have studied it solidly for two or three years. There is evidence, however, that in recent years a number of academic economists have been taking a more positive attitude towards this problem. The teaching difficulties inherent in the nature of Economics are real but not insurmountable. It seems right to urge that: "we should start from the basic proposition that all citizens should learn some Economics and . . . then wrestle with the intellectual problem of devising means to this necessary end" (25).

A number of more specious arguments against Economics for schools have also emphasised its difficulty. Attention, has, for instance, been drawn to the amount of discord among professional economists. In fact, the area of agreement is wider than many suppose. At any rate, it is neither undesirable nor impracticable that G.C.E. students, especially at 'A' level, should learn to appreciate the growing pains of a branch of learning and the fundamental insolubility of many social problems. Were it valid, the argument would apply to several other subjects, particularly to History (another "adult" study), as would the charge of "bringing politics into the classroom". Consider, finally, in this connexion, the view that "the very difficulties which have in the past been presumed to make Economics and Politics unsuitable as school subjects, are those which, in fact, make them valuable" (26).

4. CONCLUSION

"It is clear that the place of the social sciences in the school curriculum is an unsolved problem" (27); but it should not prove

insoluble, especially in the long run, a concept often usefully employed by economists. Economics as a school subject is suffering from growing pains. This is a symptom of health rather than of sickness, still less of a sickness that calls for a drastic operation. If a memorable parliamentary motion against George III may be very freely adapted, "the teaching of Economics in schools has increased, is increasing, and ought *not* to be diminished". Its growth is all the more remarkable for having taken place under unfavourable conditions. The case for teaching the subject to intelligent 17-year-olds seems very strong. Indeed, the question might be asked if we can afford not to teach it to them; the onus of the argument should really rest on the shoulders of those seeking to keep Economics out of the *normal sixth form curriculum*. The case for teaching Economics proper to a wider circle of 15-year-olds is more debatable. Certainly, they should not leave school in a state of "economic illiteracy", as the Americans would put it, and the drawbacks of non-examination courses given in schools, and to forms, geared to examination work, are obvious. If it is deemed desirable that Economics at 'O' level should become an equal partner of other subjects, much rethinking of existing syllabuses and teaching methods will first have to take place. This is not to advocate a restriction of current practice: for the rethinking must be based on the "field work" and empirical experience of the teacher in the classroom.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Mentioned in Guillebaud, C. W., "The teaching of Economics in the U.K.", in Unesco, *University teaching of Social Sciences—Economics*, (Paris, 1954).
2. cf. the chapter on the teaching of Economics in its *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools* (Oxford U.P., 1936).
3. Examination statistics in the following section have been extracted from the series of annual Reports of the Ministry (previously Board) of Education, down to *Education in 1960*, Cmnd. 1439 (H.M.S.O., 1961). It has been decided not to consider figures for the 'S' level examinations, but the expansion of Economics there has been particularly marked.
4. "Although the distinction between internal and external candidates is by no means clear-cut . . . the great majority of those entered internally are full-time secondary school pupils, and most external candidates are those who have left school, but for a variety of reasons have decided to continue their education." At 'O' level in Summer 1958 nearly two-thirds of internal candidates were aged 16-16.11, while 86% of external candidates were over 17 and nearly 11% over

25. Lawrence, P., for Joint Matriculation Board, Occasional Papers, *External Candidates and the General Certificate of Education* (Manchester, 1959).
5. *ibid.*, 'O' level 1958, 43 external and 491 internal Economics candidates; 'A' level 1955, 24 external and 269 internal. No subject details available for other years. The proportion of external Economics candidates is markedly higher with the London Board, but some Boards, e.g. the Oxford-and-Cambridge, have virtually none.
6. Source: *The Educational Authorities Directory and Annual*, London, 1960.
7. In 1960 (Summer) there were only 138 'O' level entries in Economics from secondary modern schools, as against nearly 25,000 in English and nearly 10,000 in Mathematics. *Education in 1960* (H.M.S.O., 1961).
8. This includes only courses leading to an examination whose official description is, or incorporates, the word "Economics".
9. Unesco, *The Social Sciences in Secondary Schools*, Reports and Papers in Social Sciences No. 4 (Paris, 1955).
10. Carr-Saunders, Sir A. M., "The place of Economics and allied subjects in the curriculum", *The Economic Journal*, vol. LVIII, No. 271, (Sept. 1958). Mr A. B. Sainsbury of London University School Examinations Dept. informs me that in 1961 (Summer) the proportions were: at 'O' level 143 schools out of 1,080; at 'A' level 120 out of 668.
11. The Economics Association, planned before the war and founded in 1946, is concerned with the teaching of Economics outside universities, and publishes the periodical *Economics*.
12. At School III 'O' level is in fact 'AO' for leavers after one year in the Sixth. At School IV 'A' level entries will be nearly double in 1962—25 candidates. At School VII there will be 6 'A' level entries in 1962. At School XIII economics was introduced only in 1960.
13. The Economics Association is shortly to publish a pamphlet on the teaching of Economics; there is a good deal of relevant American literature, but it is harder to obtain and in some respects less useful outside the country of origin.
14. If, as far as text-books are concerned, the nebulous "intelligent layman" may be identified with the G.C.E. external student, see Note 4 above.
15. "Though the practitioners [of the social sciences] have tried hard to establish a fixed nomenclature and terminology, they have so far only succeeded in producing a number of imitations of the language of science"—Barzun, J. M. and Graff, H. F., *The modern researcher* (New York, 1957). See also Grant, R. M., in *Economics*, vol. III, No. 4 (1960).
16. See anonymous, "Economics in schools—a case for expulsion", *T.E.S.*, 23rd July 1954, and the ensuing correspondence; Robbins, L. C., "The teaching of Economics in schools and universities", *The Economic Journal*, vol. LXV, No. 260 (Dec. 1955); and Carr-Saunders, *op. cit.*
17. Carr-Saunders, *op. cit.*

18. Council for Curriculum Reform (chairman: J. A. Lauwers), *The Content of Education* (1945).
19. Robbins, op. cit.
20. *ibid.*
21. See Laistner, M. L. W., *Greek Economics* (Dent, London, 1923).
22. "Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin", *Rede Lecture 1875*.
23. The J.C.E.E. of New York is an educational body established in 1949, concerned with the production and dissemination of aids, and with the organisation of meetings, for teachers of Economics at various levels.
24. Quoted by Lloyd, J. W., in *Economics*, vol. IV, No. 1 (1961).
25. Emmett, E. R., in *Economics*, vol. II, No. 4 (1956).
26. Council for Curriculum Reform, op. cit.
27. Carr-Saunders, op. cit.

ATTITUDE TO HANDICAP

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CEREBRAL palsy denotes a specific category of abnormality of the brain which affects control of movement. During the years 1954-57 a survey of cerebral palsy was carried out by St. Andrews University. Its aim was to study all cerebral palsied persons under 21 years of age, domiciled in three of the eastern counties of Scotland. Of 240 cases discovered, 223 were studied psychologically. This article deals with some of the findings of one aspect of this study, namely, attitude to handicap, from three different angles, that of the cerebral palsied themselves, their parents, and the community.

I. ATTITUDE OF THE CEREBRAL PALSIDED TO THEIR OWN HANDICAP

An indirect approach was made and, during psychological testing, each cerebral palsied person was asked to express three wishes. The aim was to obtain wishes which were as fundamental as possible and the person being tested was encouraged to give the matter some thought. It was not possible to obtain wishes from all 223 cases studied, e.g. all 45 children under school age were excluded as were 37 persons unable to respond because of very severe mental handicap. Wishes were obtained from 128 cerebral palsied persons giving a total of 384 wishes. These were classified as in Table I. Thus, wishes

TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF WISHES

Things to have	Things to do	Handicap	Employment	Parents/home	Interests	School	Helping others	Miscellaneous	Don't know	Total
163	67	32	30	13	13	9	8	38	11	384

alluding to things bulked largest and the 163 separate wishes referred to toys, bikes, cars, food, money, T.V. sets, and pets. After "things to have" the next largest group covered "things to do". The most important finding is that of the 384 wishes only 32 referred to handicap. These 32 wishes were given by 24 cerebral palsied persons, i.e., some had two or even three wishes of this type. The mean age of these 24 was 15 years 8 months and only three of them were under 11 years of age. This finding would seem to support Bice (1) in his

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contention that children with cerebral palsy are often slow to realise their handicap and some, he suggests, despite vague recognition of their disability, still fail to realise the limitations it imposes. Bice hints at explanation in terms of underlying defence mechanisms, but the low average intelligence of the group (average IQ 67.7) seems at least as likely a cause. The fact that the majority of references to handicap are made by those in their early teens would suggest the significance of early adolescence for the handicapped person.

The average IQ of the 24 whose wishes touched on handicap was 88. Though the 24 included 5 cerebral palsied persons with IQs under 70, it is significant that while only 17.9% of the total 223 cases studied had IQs of 100 or above, 14 of the 24 (or 58.3%) of those giving wishes referring to handicap came into this category. Indeed, it included 4 with IQs over 130. This would suggest a positive relationship between reference to handicap and higher IQ.

Again, study of the ratings for emotional adjustment of the 24 who mentioned handicap in their wishes shows that reference to handicap is more likely to come from a person rated as well adjusted than one rated as poorly adjusted.

For 18 of the cerebral palsied who gave wishes it was possible to find controls closely matched for age and intelligence as shown in Table 2. Wishes for the two groups are compared in Table 3.

TABLE 2
CEREBRAL PALSID AND CONTROL GROUPS

C.P. Control	Age in years		Average	Range	IQ		Range
	Average	Range			Average	Range	
C.P.	11.3	8-17					
Control	11.2	8-16	63.2	27-112	62.7	31-111	

TABLE 3
WISHES OF CEREBRAL PALSID AND CONTROL GROUPS

Cerebral palsied	Things to have	Things to do	Handi- cap	Employ- ment	Home			Don't know	Total
					School	Other			
Cerebral palsied	22	11	2	3	5	2	8	1	54
Control	18	14	0	2	3	2	3	12	54

Analysis of the 54 wishes in each group showed little difference between those given by the cerebral palsied and controls apart from the fact that the control cases made no reference to handicap whereas two of the cerebral palsied did. The pattern of wishes was substantially the same. Reference to handicap was not prominent among the wishes of the cerebral palsied, which might suggest that handicap

is less frequently uppermost in the cerebral palsied child's mind than is commonly supposed by the non-handicapped adult. There was a tendency for the wishes which did relate to handicap to come from the adolescent group and from the more intelligent and better adjusted. However, the general lack of discrepancy between the wishes of the cerebral palsied and control groups underlines the need, in studying the handicapped, not to overstress their differences from the normal at the expense of their similarities.

2. ATTITUDE OF PARENTS

Two aspects of parents' attitudes were considered, namely, the parents' understanding of handicap, and their acceptance of it. In both cases ratings were used. Such ratings were made during the comparatively short time of each case study and it could only be hoped that the more intense and straightforward attitudes could be uncovered. Table 4 shows understanding of handicap and Table 5 acceptance.

TABLE 4
UNDERSTANDING OF HANDICAP

Implications understood	Grasp present situation	Limited appreciation	No appreciation	No home	Total
59	III	40	10	3	223

TABLE 5
ACCEPTANCE OF HANDICAP

Compensation	Acceptance	Resentment	Other	No home	Total
26	151	10	33	3	223

Further analysis showed that there was a tendency for understanding of handicap to increase with the age of the cerebral palsied person. This is particularly true where the physical handicap is accompanied by mental handicap, which occurred in about 50% of cases. The mentally handicapped infant develops slowly but can often pass as being younger than his actual age, and, at the very dependent stage of infancy, the extra care required is less noticeable. The leeway between the normal and the mentally handicapped increases with age and in becoming less easy for others to overlook, it becomes more apparent in the home also. A parallel tendency for acceptance of handicap to increase with age was also found. As might be expected, understanding of handicap was greater in homes rated as above average for mental status. No such tendency was shown with regard to acceptance and "compensation" occurred twice as

frequently in homes rated average as among those rated above or below this level. Implications of handicap were better understood where handicap was severe. Again, this was untrue of acceptance, which tended to be more favourable in cases of mildest disability.

Only a handful of parents could be said to possess any real knowledge of cerebral palsy. By far the majority learned about the handicap by living with it, experience gradually bringing an appreciation of the limitations it imposed. Three main misconceptions about cerebral palsy were found to be current:

- (i) that by far the majority of the cerebral palsied are not mentally handicapped and all their limitations, apart from the more obvious sensory ones, are to be explained in terms of the cerebral palsy itself. Very often appraisal of the ability of the cerebral palsied had rested only on opinion which sought safeguard in vagueness and too frequently parents had been given reassurances about being "a bit slow" and "growing out of it" which were quite unwarranted;
- (ii) that if really adequate expert treatment and education were provided, all limitations would be overcome;
- (iii) that the problems of cerebral palsy are of a unique type; hence any provision not specifically designed for the cerebral palsied is inadequate.

Such misconceptions are difficult to combat because they must be countered by unpopular lines of argument, e.g. that a cerebral palsied person has about equal chances of being mentally handicapped or not, and that schools specifically for the cerebral palsied, though most expensive to run, may not educationally be the most profitable for the cerebral palsied themselves.

3. ATTITUDE OF OTHERS

Attitude to handicap is not just something that the handicapped have but touches the entire community. By way of extending a feeler towards this problem, before survey testing commenced, a questionnaire was given to a class of postgraduate students in education. Professional studies or duties had given this group opportunities of learning something of handicap of this and other types and, apart from those working directly with the handicapped, it would have been difficult to find a group likely to know more about the subject. Seven simple questions were asked as shown in Table 6. Random guesses were not invited.

TABLE 6
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is a spastic child?
2. How would you expect him to look?
3. How would you expect him to behave?
4. Have you ever seen a spastic person?
5. Have you ever come in contact with a spastic person?
6. What do you know about the education of such handicapped children?
7. What do you know about the employment of spastics?

It emerged that 21 of the 30 had seen spastic children but only one claimed contact with a spastic adult. Of the 30, 29 defined spastic on the right lines in terms of physical defect and lack of control of movement. Some also emphasised accompanying mental handicap or fits. The majority stressed the importance of special education but 12 of the 30 stated they had no knowledge regarding employment of spastics. One answer requires quoting in full. It runs: "A spastic child generally looks untidy, dirty, smells a bit, probably deformed in some way, (has) spasmodic twitching." There was one other surprising answer which stated of spastics, "Behaviour towards other children may be brutal." Both these statements are couched in emotional terms suggesting that the old intolerance of the handicapped dies hard, occasionally even at this high level of education. Far less knowledge of spastics could safely be assumed of a representative sample of the population and knowledge is the great antidote to prejudice.

The problem is a real one and it is not without relevance that birds exhibit the interesting behaviour of attacking and often killing wounded or freak members of their own species. Such behaviour could suggest a deep-seated impulse to attack the defective which might readily be rationalised at the human level. Heck (2) has distinguished four stages in the evolution of attitude to handicap: extermination, ridicule, care, education. There is no doubt that general thinking as regards handicap has tended in this direction though in no case has the transition been complete. Some still advocate euthanasia for some of the handicapped; some still practise ridicule. The emphasis has however shifted from the negative one of intolerance to the positive one of help.

4. ATTITUDE TO DIFFERENT TYPES OF HANDICAP

According to Belinson (3), "Of all forms of handicap which human beings suffer—Mental Retardation is least likely to evoke the degree of sympathy which is extended to the deaf, blind or crippled."

Blindness is perhaps the handicap which in general enlists sympathetic understanding and the good adjustment made by this group as compared even with the deaf, is well known.

Some explanation is given by Gesell (4) who distinguishes between the intellectual and social aspects of vision and hearing. Both are intellectual as well as social senses but the emphasis is different. Vision is first and foremost the intellectual sense while the greatest deprivation caused by deafness is in the sphere of socialised communication, hence "Deafness threatens the personality more than it does the intellect of the child." This distinction appears a valuable one and it might be inferred that the extent of the impairment of social communication is an important factor both in arousing sympathy in others and in contributing to the adjustment of the handicapped person. The cerebral palsied were found to show marked intellectual and social immaturity and, since their apparent intellectual impairment and apparent lack of social poise is even greater than the real deficiencies, there was little reason to suppose that this type of handicap would be likely to win general sympathy. In fact, in 37 of the 223 cases studied, attitude of others was stated by the parents to be a source of worry. Where attitude was considered a problem stares, ridicule, imposing upon the handicapped or ignoring him altogether were most frequently quoted as causing distress. Some found the sentimental attitude difficult to bear. More than one mother described how others would crowd round her pram and ejaculate "Poor wee soul" or "Isn't it a shame." To say the least of it such an attitude is unhelpful: which of us can bear our child to be "a poor wee soul" in the eyes of another?

5. CASUAL ACCEPTANCE

The attitude to handicap of the person involved, of his family, and of the community, are all interrelated. In the course of working with the cerebral palsied, the opinion has been formed that acceptance should be the keynote of them all. Unhelpful attitudes on the part of the family or the community are those which foster weaknesses in the handicapped themselves. They include shunning all mention of handicap, or pretending that it does not exist, allowing unnecessary dependence and pity. Unemotional acceptance of the ways in which he is different and an expectation that he will use what abilities he has to the full, all strengthen him to meet his difficulties, and only by so doing can he achieve maximum independence. Our greatest service

to the handicapped lies neither in sympathy nor in donations of money but in casual acceptance.

Such acceptance can best be fostered by minimising segregation and bringing the handicapped and non-handicapped together at all possible points, in school, at work, and socially. When the handicapped are isolated and the non-handicapped insulated against them, both groups are unsure of themselves in the unusual circumstances in which they do meet and on both sides prejudice thrives.

Happiness for the handicapped lies in fitting in to the community. The complete acceptance of handicap means acceptance into the community, and that wherever possible, the handicapped should live, be educated, and work along with those without handicap.

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LONG-TERM DIRECTED THINKING

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CHILDREN in school are required to think about a topic for the most part in forty minute patches or less. They may be set a homework that takes forty minutes, or they may be given a classroom assignment that requires them to think about one or more problems throughout one school period. I am concerned here, however, with sustained thinking about one problem for longer than forty minutes, although not necessarily for longer than forty minutes at one time. The number of consecutive minutes depends on the individual capacity of the child among other things, but most children probably think most efficiently where one topic is concerned in bouts of less than an hour.

For periods of forty minutes or less, there are many successful methods of encouraging fruitful, economic thinking. Three such are "thinking in concrete" as recommended by Thring, the great nineteenth century teacher of Uppingham; the exercises in elementary logic most recently stipulated by Professor Peel in his book *The Pupil's Thinking*; and the cultivation of stringent classroom discussion techniques.

But thinking that is directed on a situation for forty minutes only, does not allow the operation of certain important desiderata. It does not allow for the utilisation of subconscious and intermittently conscious incubatory processes by means of which solutions at various stages of problem solving fall into shape, even though directed persistent conscious thinking is not taking place. Neither does it allow for the exploratory ranging of the mind over a wide area in search of relevant material, nor the impinging upon the mind of relevant matter that, as it were, comes unsought while reading or playing or working with some other end in view.

These three advantages of long-term directed thinking do not accrue in short-term situation thinking, yet they are extremely important. No major human achievement is possible without them. They are the justification of the project, the extended attack on some problem or situation.

The individual project offers one mode of approach to long-term directed thinking; I shall deal with this last. (If the project takes group form, each individual may not necessarily be doing extended thinking. Group projects are invaluable in many ways, but they do not necessarily allow for long-range directed thinking by each individual.)

A second mode offers private working in successive periods of closely related study-activity on a topic, and this is, in fact, the common method of attaining long-term directed thinking. But unless these closely related successive periods of work in a subject (*a*) primarily involve individual thinking on the part of every member of the class, and (*b*) are dynamically informed by a teacher-controlled plan and pattern of positive thinking possibilities which allow full exploratory scope to each child in the class, the object will not be achieved.

A third mode of long-term directed thinking is cooperative effort to solve a single problem by the whole class and teacher over a period of several lessons. It would at first appear that this, too, is a commonly employed method; but it is not so common as unreflecting thinking might presume. For one thing, such lessons are not usually related in series to one problem. Secondly, the teacher generally does most if not all of the thinking and talking and even note-giving, possibly abetted occasionally by one or two of the brighter children. Thirdly, the adroit asking of questions which is a customary means of eliciting the "right" answers and is thought to be a useful way of getting the class to shape the lesson, or to think that they are helping to shape the lesson, is not often any more than a clever floating by the teacher of doctored bait that must inevitably evoke a certain answer—in other words, an almost automatic response. It will be seen as we proceed that "right" answers and automatic responses are equally inimical to the kind of thinking being discussed here.

These latter two teaching modes, even when failing to sponsor long-term directed thinking, are most useful methods. There is no intention of denying their pedagogical validity with regard to certain ends with which this is not the place to deal. To come to the third mode first, however, it is possible, as has been implied, to use it to foster long-term directed thinking.

The first necessity is that the teacher have a plan covering a certain period of time over which the thinking will take place. This plan must (i) relate to one topic (say Waterloo, or reptilian eating habits, or the processing of iron), (ii) be divided into as many major parts as there will be class periods devoted to the topics, (iii) comprise series

of related questions which lead to the thoughtful discovery by individuals in the class, of major data of the topic, and (iv) allow for question asking and statement by the children.

In the light of the objection made above to questions that evoke precise predictable responses that are more or less automatic, the teacher must pattern the lessons on such a fluid basis of thought-provoking material that by no means all the children's questions will be predictable, although some inevitably will be. And with respect to this question-asking role foisted on the class, it is of course most important that they realise its significance in the method. The right kind of question-asking will certainly not be achieved overnight, any more than will response by class members in the form of the right kind of statement. That is, the method proceeds both by question and answer and by statement on the part of the teacher and on the part of the children.

But answer has not yet been given to the question: How does one prevent the teacher's questions from provoking one after another, set, predictable answers that thereby tend to lack dynamic quality, and inhibit the children's questions and statements? The answer is simple if not perhaps too obvious: the teacher, and the children, must ask questions that require thinking before answering—thinking, not mere quickly associative recollection.

One or two examples will make this clear. Instead of asking, of a novel, "Do you think that A really loved B, or was he merely responding to her in the way he did out of kindness?" which at best will get in reply either "loved" or "kindness" together with some little evidence—instead of this, the question might take the form, "Describe in what ways A's conduct made it inevitable that he should feel love (or kindness) for B." This question will involve us in considerations of B's conduct as well, and of means of identifying love and kindness. The question is illustrated if one thinks of Heathcliffe's feelings for Catherine, or of Eleanor Bold's feelings for Mr Arabin.

It is possible that at certain levels such phrasing as we find in the recommended question, and the thinking it entails, is too sophisticated. But I hope that the desired structure of question is clear. The answer to this question will involve, not a reference to some non-existent black and white classification of human relationships and its *carte blanche* application to the novel, but creative thinking about human relationships, as well as about the specific relationship of A and B. It involves the realism of introducing into study of character

and relationship the idea that what X feels for Y is determined by what X thinks of Y, independent, to a degree, of Y's real nature (1). The further complex ramifications of the idea are not beyond the reader's appreciation; I want merely to indicate the possibilities.

A second example is the question, "What circumstances made it likely that in the latter half of the fifteenth century a Genoan in Spain should sail to the New World?" Such a question shows the limitations of "In what year did Columbus discover America?" to be farcical, and will stimulate thinking simultaneously by various members of the class over a wide range of historical, geographic, economic, political, and possibly even biographical factors, and therewith reveal orientations of subject matter that are both diverse and unified. Such answers will occasion multiple-level thinking, one of the main objectives of the discipline of long-term directed thinking. They will also link in dialectical movement with later statements and questions of both teacher and children.

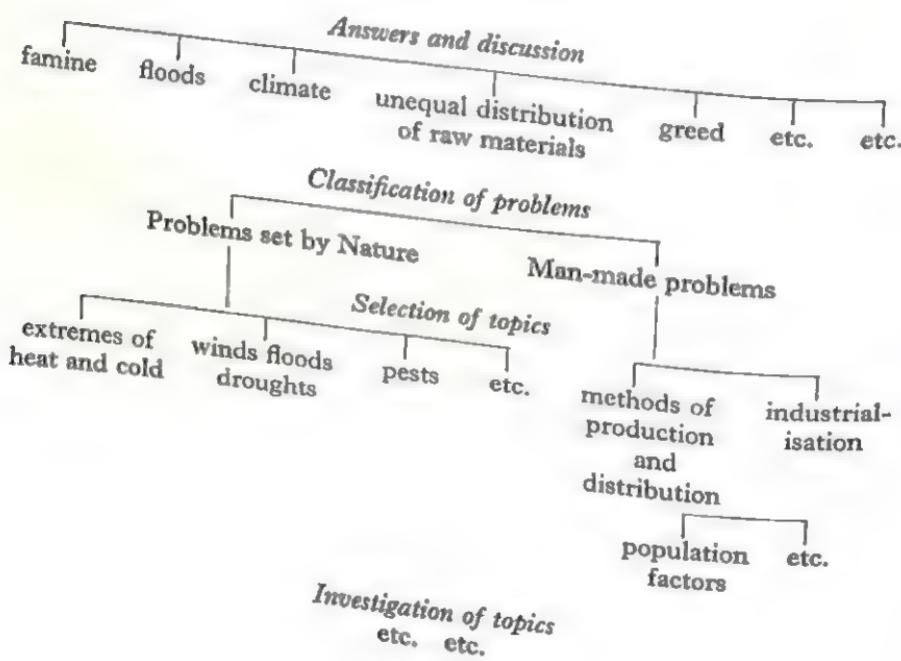
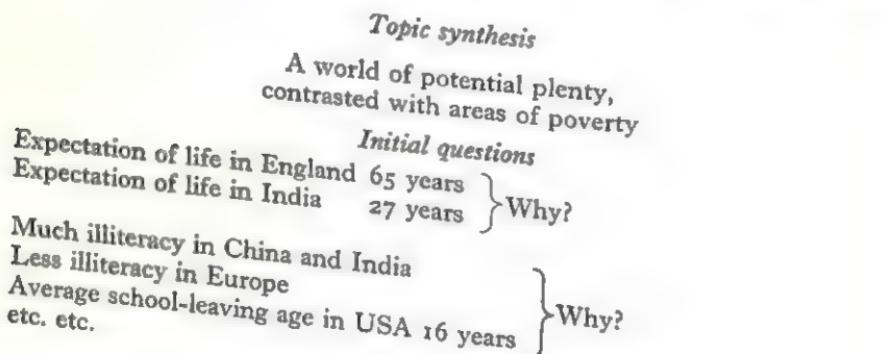
But so much, briefly, for the third mode. The second practice, widely employed, mentioned above was that where the class is permitted to work at a single task, each child privately and at his desk, over a number of periods. Suppose the task to be one of the Spanish invasion of England in the sixteenth century, the co-operative food store movement in England, the writing of a desert island adventure story, the history of thinking about magnetism.

The method will in all probability devolve into a essay-type production following on reading in a text, supplementary library work including reference to periodicals and newspapers, and of course, the oral dialectic described above. (Incidentally, these means of producing "copy" may advisedly be exploited for the writing of short stories or any other fiction. There is no reason for the widespread ignoring in schools of the fact that all fiction writers outside of school use reference material.) The individuals of marked academic ability and studious habit will profit considerably from such practice, providing certain conditions are fulfilled. First, they should be of an inquiring nature, or in any event their curiosity should have been aroused by the teacher. Second, they must possess the ability, and have had the training, to plan their work carefully, imaginatively, and inclusively yet economically. Third, they should know what questions to ask.

Each of these conditions is most important. The first, curiosity, and that of the most productive kind, is the *sine qua non* of all creative thought (and here, in this matter of trained curiosity, the first, second

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and third conditions overlap). The second condition refers to the eight problem-solving stages of Dewey, or to variants of them (2), and to the ability to use the library fruitfully. Of the art of asking the most productive questions a great deal might be said. Something of this has been indicated in the previous paragraphs. It also involves a planned attack on the problem, where the series of major questions, one naturally arising out of the answer to the previous question, are projected in advance. Such a scheme as A. H. T. Glover's, freely adapted here and presented only in part, will provide a useful model for the teacher, although some might prefer a more formal categorising of sub-topics (3).



Yet this second mode, of individual work over a number of periods, will not tend to foster the best results except, as has been said, in the case of individuals of special abilities in this direction. Such children will, in the course of this work, become engaged in long-term directed thinking. The rest of the class will profit considerably less, depending on the amount of time the teacher can give to each of them individually. It must be individual help, for the simple reason that the nature of this mode is *individual* seeing, questioning, planning, shaping, answering. A number of children, for whom the technique of asking the right questions is beyond their capacities, will not profit at all in terms of the kind of thinking that is our concern here.

The amount of psychological damage that can be done when children who are inept at a process are set to work it out for themselves and at their own pace, is underestimated. This may frequently be of little account when the time involved is of one school period's duration; it is a different matter when the project spans a week or more, with each day the dreaded return of increasing evidence of ineptitude to haunt one. It would be far better that these children be guided under the scheme previously outlined, where the teacher takes the lead throughout, or under the group project method, where, if properly organised, the more able at a given task help the less able, and delegate to them facets of an investigation which are within their scope. As indicated above, however, this assignment of simpler tasks to the less able is in the group project scheme an attestation of the failure to get all the children to do long-term thinking for themselves. The best that the group project allows is to place before the eyes of the slow the methods of the gifted; but the former will not in most cases be able to use those methods for full-scale individual work.

The fully satisfactory method is the private project, the fully individual project, where each child is working at his own best speed, according to his own plan and series of questions, on a subject that he has chosen, with teacher guidance, of interest to him as well as one that will duly stretch him. In such a scheme the teacher must be continually available for advice and even for direct assistance. Repetition of advice, especially as to basic planning, is inevitable. Even with a printed scheme before them (and this has obvious drawbacks), many children need constantly to be told how to operate it in some detail or other. The same thing applies to their use of the library, which is essential for such work. They will frequently have

to be told, even if they are familiar with the rudiments of the Dewey decimal system of classification (and for a child not to be is to be deprived of a mental right arm), how best to use the appropriate volumes when they have been found. Yet even so, working as each child is on his own project, self conceived within the subject terms imposed by the teacher, self-directed except for unintrusive even if frequent teacher guidance, he is involved in long-term directed thinking of the kind that life outside the school will exact of him.

This private, constantly supervised project is best, but the other two schemes briefly outlined here can also be counted upon to lead to a degree of long-range, multiple level, directed thinking. Whichever scheme is used, some plan such as Harper's, some problem-solving classification such as Dewey's, and a great deal of practice in using these techniques, and in asking the most productive questions and making the most pregnant statements, are necessary. Then, even without full fruition in a completed project, a liberal, useful education is under way.

NOTES

1. That Y's "real nature" may be a myth, or at any rate not discoverable by X; and that what X feels about Y will condition what X thinks of Y, do not need underlining here. Children can profit from such discussions. They used to be considered (by Herbart, for example) one of the chief justifications of the study of literature.
2. Dewey's "analysis of a complete act of thought" (from *How We Think*) is well known, and has had a far more direct influence in American than in English classroom practice. The eight steps are: (i) awareness of the problem; (ii) clarification of the problem; (iii) definition of needed data—construction of a "search model"; (iv) collection and organisation of data; (v) formulation of a tentative hypothesis; (vi) logical testing of hypothesis; (vii) drawing of conclusions; (viii) testing of conclusions (a) logically, (b) empirically.
3. The adaptation is that used in his school by Mr R. Arnold, Headmaster of Greenfield County Secondary Boys' School, Hyde, Cheshire.

A STUDY OF THE MORALE OF A STREAM AND C STREAM PUPILS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANY DIFFER- ENCES IN THE ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR OF THEIR TEACHERS (1)

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE object of this study was to break the deadlock in the arguments for and against streaming. In this, both sides have produced evidence from research to back their opinions, but it is to be noted that most of the researches carried out to find the effect of streaming have used attainment as their measuring rod. This has proved inconclusive because the gap between intelligence and attainment can be filled with many variables—personality factors, social climate, pupils' and teachers' attitudes, teaching methods, etc.—and many of these have been disregarded. It seemed that another way to study the problem might be to find out what psychological conditions are required for efficient learning and to see whether these conditions are best satisfied in streamed or unstreamed situations. Working on the assumption that "the search for the satisfaction of primary psychological needs takes precedence over the demands made by the intellectual or informational content of the courses offered", an attempt was made to study differences in morale between A and C streams of pupils in secondary schools and to find out if any differences could be related to differences in attitude among the teachers. Morale was chosen as giving the best reflection of the extent of the satisfaction of the psychological needs of the pupils.

2. METHOD OF STUDY

It was decided to study morale under two headings which are closely interrelated: first, morale of the pupils as individuals; second, morale of the pupils as a group.

It was assumed that where there is high morale, the individual feels self-confident; accepts authority; feels accepted and appreciated; feels that he is receiving a fair amount of success; participates freely in the activities of the group and feels that he belongs to it; has a definite goal which, he thinks, is within reach; has the right attitudes towards society and accepted institutions. Further assumptions were made about the group in which there is high morale: that it offers a high degree of interrelations to its members and shows great solidarity (there are more "we" feelings as opposed to "I" feelings, and the members think that their group is superior to others); that it gives a chance to the individual to make a valued contribution (thus, while there is acceptance of authority, yet different situations allow different leaders to emerge); and that there is a high degree of co-operation within the group.

Keeping these points in mind an attempt was made to measure the following factors of morale in the class situation: amount of self-confidence; acceptance of authority; feeling of being accepted and appreciated by other pupils and by teachers; amount of success received in school; attitude towards school; participation in school activities and enjoyment derived from them; appreciation of the value of school; belief in the high status of class and school; number of mutual choices, isolates and dislike choices on a sociometric test (2); leader choice of group; group solidarity.

To measure these, group tests and questionnaires were devised. These included a test to measure self-confidence, a sociometric test to find the choices of children in six situations, a sentence completion test to measure acceptance of authority, a test of attitude toward school and a test to measure feelings of being accepted by the teachers. Use was also made of school records concerning extra-curricular activities and absences. Generally speaking, the sociometric test was intended to measure group morale while the others sought to measure aspects of individual morale. The results of the sociometric test were statistically treated under nine headings: (1) percent of possible mutual choices; percent of (2) like, (3) dislike, (4) leader, and (5) camp choices expressed; number of isolates in (6) like, (7) dislike, (8) leader, and (9) camp choices. These choices were also tabulated and an attempt was made to deduce from them the composition of each group.

A questionnaire was also prepared for the teachers. This sought to establish the attitudes of the teachers to various streams but it was not possible to give it to the teachers in all the schools studied.

However, through conversation, questions and observation, some idea about the teachers' attitude was arrived at.

Five hundred and nine boys in three secondary schools were studied. Two of these schools were secondary modern and were clearly streamed. The other one was a grammar school which was unstreamed up to the third year and partly streamed in the fourth year. In the fourth year the pupils were streamed by a limitation of the subjects they could take for G.C.E., even though they were still taught in sets.

In the secondary modern schools the tests were given to the highest and lowest stream of each year up to and including the fourth form. Differences in morale were sought between the top and the bottom stream in each year and between all the top streams combined and the bottom streams combined. No attempt was made to pool the results of the two schools.

In the grammar school all the pupils in the four fourth-year forms were given the tests. Thus differences could be sought between the A, B, C and D stream form of the same age group of pupils. An attempt was also made to rank the boys according to their morale and to interview the top ten and the lowest ten. This ranking also served as a crude validation test in two ways: by checking to see if a boy who ranked high or low in one factor would rank high or low in other factors; and by seeking agreement with the staff about the ranking. Generally speaking the twenty boys selected ranked in the same quartile position in all the sixteen sub-headings studied. There was also agreement with the teachers about eight pupils in the high morale group and about seven in the low morale group.

3. RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

There were enough indications from this study to permit the claim that streaming tends to lower morale in the duller streams. The differences between high and low streams were most marked in the case of individual morale and not so clearly marked in group morale. It could also be said that the higher morale in A stream forms was derived from other factors besides higher mental ability and higher attainment. There was evidence that they had higher morale mainly because the streaming situation led to a greater satisfaction of psychological needs in the A forms than in the D forms. Most of the pupils in the D forms realised that they had been put in a low stream because they were not good enough for a higher one. In every case lower stream boys rated their form lower than did higher stream boys.

In the secondary modern schools more than half of the D forms rated their school more highly than did the A forms. This did not occur in the grammar school and it may be that the brighter boys in the secondary modern schools felt their failure in the 11+ examination more keenly than did the other boys and therefore rated their school less highly.

Although many of the boys in the lower stream in the school were dissatisfied with the status of their form, yet most of them said that they liked being in it. Because of friendly relations with other pupils in their form many boys in D forms appeared to find little incentive to work harder in order to move into a higher stream.

The claim is often put forward in favour of streaming, that it helps to give every pupil a fair measure of success. In the case of the schools studied this view cannot be supported. Results showed that A stream boys were more satisfied with their progress than were D stream boys. They thought that they were receiving more praise from their teachers and felt that the subjects they took were more within their reach.

There were also some signs that the competitive situation set up by streaming affected the A stream boys more than the D stream boys. This was suggested by the poorer sociometric results of the A stream forms, especially those which were being prepared for outside examinations, and by the drop in "group" morale in these forms. Whether the morale of these A stream boys would have been higher if they had been in unstreamed groups is a matter of conjecture, but there are indications that the same boys would have formed better social relations in unstreamed groups.

It is reasonable to suppose that the morale of the pupils can be greatly influenced by the attitudes and behaviour of their teachers. Most of the teachers in the schools studied favoured streaming or did not question it. They showed more favourable attitudes towards "bright" stream forms than towards "dull" stream forms. They preferred teaching A stream forms, received more satisfaction in teaching these forms and found these forms easier to control. The pupils felt this difference in attitude and the brighter stream forms scored more highly in ten out of twelve cases in "Feeling of being accepted and appreciated by teachers". In three of these cases the difference was significant at the one percent level.

This study set out to establish differences in morale between high and low stream pupils. There are indications that these differences exist and that one of the important factors leading to these differ-

ences is the difference in the attitude of teachers towards the two streams.

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1. A full report of this study, with details of tests used and statistical evidence upon which the conclusions are based, may be found in Chetcuti, F., *A Study of the Morale of A Stream and C Stream Pupils in Secondary Schools*, Unpublished M.A. thesis (University of London, 1960).
The study, carried out under the guidance of Dr C. M. Fleming, was made possible by grants from the Malta Government and the Research Funds Committee of the University of London.
2. A sociometric test gives a measure of acceptance and rejection between individuals within a group. For details see Northway, M. L., *A Primer of Sociometry* (University of Toronto Press, 1952).

ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION*

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THE primary function of language is to play an active part in human social behaviour, and the primary linguistic function of the school is the socialisation of language. Language can only be effectively studied in relation to its function in society.

The tremendous social upheavals which have taken place in our generation have been accompanied by their own Linguistic Revolution (1), because language is so much a part of the fabric of society that any changes in it must be accompanied by changes in society.

It was the "confounding of tongues" at Babel which preceded the scattering of the people. It was the unification of tongues which accompanied the rebirth of Pentecost. If one is irritated by the confusion of tongues, one must be patient and be prepared for the strange events which will accompany de-Babelisation.

The new, developing countries of the tropics, in emerging from their state of colonial subservience, have met with this urgent problem—"What languages shall we use?" In some of these countries there are villagers who would be linguistically "lost" if they travelled twenty miles from their home. A recent and probably incomplete survey of languages in the world gives an estimate of 3,000 separate languages, many of which have further dialect subdivisions.

Nevertheless, if we count the number of languages spoken by more than a hundred million people, we find that they number only six: namely, Chinese (all dialects), English, Hindi-Urdu, Russian, Spanish and German—closely followed by Japanese and French.

For the purposes of this article, I will call the widespread languages "World Languages", the local languages, "Vernaculars".

As they take part in international politics and commerce, the new nations find that their Vernaculars are inadequate both in territorial scope and in linguistic stature. So the adoption of one or more World

* This article presents a different viewpoint to that in R. H. F. Dalton's article with a similar title in the *Review* for February, 1961 (13.2).

Languages becomes necessary. Young people will need to know their Vernacular—it is part of their family society; they will need to know also a World Language if they are to join the stream of international society. And, just as the Vernacular may be inadequate for international use, so the World Language may be unsuitable for the demands of a local society.

These dual functions of language, inter- and intra-national, can be served fully neither by the Vernacular nor by the World Language. The school, placed between the local and international societies, and following a policy of adjusting language to society, will have to look both ways. To the past and to the future. It can ignore neither its own culture nor that of the foreign country whose language it adopts.

There have been many suggested solutions to this difficult problem, and the exact measures to be adopted in any particular area can best be worked out by politicians, educators and sociologists on the spot. But I believe that the broad outlines have been found of a solution which does not damage the fabric of either the Vernacular or the chosen World Language, because it adapts them to the functions which each will have to serve.

The Vernacular will have to be expanded and adjusted to bear the impact of modern social living. Certain usages, and certain vocabulary items, such as technical terms, can be grafted on. Linguists can devise the most suitable written form. Research into folklore, art, music, dance and local customs can lay the foundations of a revitalised local society. Vernacular literacy will be made worth while. An expansion of Adult and Child Education will make it possible.

At the same time, modifications can be made in the presentation of the World Language. Essential vocabulary (2) and structures (3) can simplify the learning problems. The established literature, if it can be tastefully modified, can be studied (4). Text-books can be framed in language and concepts which are locally meaningful. There will be co-operation at all levels between Vernacular and World Language policy (5). Literacy in the World Language will be made possible and rewarding.

Lest this task be thought impossible, I will quote (perhaps with mixed feelings) the example of Communist Russia. In 1926, there were some hundred of Vernaculars spoken. In the Tundra region of the North, for example, there were no less than 26 different nationalities speaking different languages and with different customs,

and none of these groups had a written alphabet (6). The Leninists rejected Russification or any other form of linguistic imperialism—

To every nationality in the U.S.S.R. is given the right to use its own language and its own written form for the purpose of raising its national culture.

and this policy was, within reason, carried out. Education is now given in the medium of 90 languages, and also in Russian, which by 1938 had been the compulsory second language.

Thus Russia harnessed the economic and intellectual power of its vast country in a great national and ideological revival, at the core of which lay a realistic and human language policy.

Perhaps it may be said that Russia is a distant country and its methods are not ours. So we shall turn to the position in England before the Renaissance. Here again a number of separate Vernaculars and customs were spread throughout the island. The World Language used was Latin. Latin, it was said, was the only complete language, the language of law and order, of international communication, and of culture. The Vernacular was hardly fit for a gentleman. But see how the situation resolved itself. The emergent Vernacular, English, became adapted to its purpose. It produced a tongue fit for Shakespeare, Milton, Newton and Rutherford. It became sufficient to cope with great religious, social and industrial revolutions. This adaptive process is shown by the coining of new words from alien sources—"sputnik", "television"—or by new arrangements—"blacklegs", "dead beat". The addition of new words and of "opaque" and idiomatic usages of old ones has enabled the language to perform its task (7).

The once despised vernacular is a World Language. Latin is now a "dead" one (although if we study modern English, French and Italian, perhaps "metamorphosis" is a better concept than "death"?). In addition to English, several serviceable national languages are still thriving in the British Isles. Those who say a language cannot be used because it is too primitive are really criticising the virility and flexibility of the people.

Local variants of the "bilateral" solution can be found all over the world. In many British African territories, Vernacular literacy has been a bridge to literacy in English. In Belgian territories some progress had been made, but what linguistic policy will come from the present confusion will surely reflect the political solution adopted. If the chosen language were to be Russian we would know what that

solution had been. In South Africa the language policy has buttressed the national policy of discrimination.

In India, Pakistan and Burma, important Asian tongues have been adopted as official languages, although English has also been retained, at least for a time. In French African territories, the policy has been to teach in French from the beginning and to ignore the Vernacular. Since 1951, however, research has been directed to the possibility of making more use of the Vernaculars in education.

The present situation in Wales has been summed up in the following words: "In Wales the existence of two languages and the uneven distribution of those who speak them complicate the task of schools and challenge the ingenuity of teachers. The success of schools in such conditions depends in the first instance, though not exclusively, upon an organisation which takes account of the linguistic classification of the pupils and which aims at enabling all children to receive their early education through the medium of their mother tongue and to consolidate their command of it" (8).

Recently Ghana—striking out on its own—officially laid down the policy of using English as the medium of instruction almost from the beginning of the Primary School. I would like to examine some features of what I consider to be an unusual decision. Apart from the resolution of political and personal tensions, I think this decision shows the lingering traces of a certain outlook on the world. And this is the lack of differentiation between the symbol and its referent (the "word" and the "thing") which is a characteristic of primitive behaviour. There are still elaborate ritual curses and verbal formulae which are believed to be very effective. Saying a thing will somehow facilitate the doing of it. If I say that my enemy has been humiliated, somehow this will come to pass. A common cause of misunderstanding in Africa and elsewhere (9) may be significant in this respect. If one says to an African, "Did you not enjoy your dinner?" he will probably say "No" (I did). He uses this formula because he is concerned with the verbal form (symbol) of the question: an Englishman, more concerned with facts of the situation (referent), will answer "Yes" (I did).

In political life, it is held to be essential to maintain a public show of verbal agreement, which is sometimes taken to be essentially anti-democratic. It is as if verbal disagreement would lead directly to political disintegration. Mr Kruschev understood and exploited this attitude well in his visit to U.N.O. in 1960.

But the policy of placing one's trust in merely verbal unification

is misguided. The danger of conflict remains, not because men speak different tongues, but because they "worship different idols" (10).

The existence of local rigidity in linguistic matters may be accentuated by present social insecurity. "If my social and political power are being swept away," says the tribal chief, "I can at least insist on keeping my language intact." But verbal apartheid cannot sustain him in his present difficulties. An interesting example of this attitude is seen in the preservation of the Akuapim dialect of Twi, and the resistance to the orthographic union of Twi and Fanti (11). The use of language as a "status symbol" is also seen with the insistence of Malayan and Yoruba children in answering in English a question put to them in the Vernacular. It is just this sort of link between language and social life which prompts the following words: "We have then, the fact that over one half of the world's population is illiterate. . . . We have the proposition that education is best carried on through the mother tongue of the pupil. But we have too, the fact that between the proposition and its realisation many complex and difficult problems arise" (12).

There has been a certain amount of research into these linguistic problems, but unfortunately the linguists seem to have been too far ahead of the sadly lagging psychologists.

In Ghana a survey was carried out to find if there was any measurable difference in the relative efficiency of English and Twi as media of instruction (13). The authors noted many methodological difficulties, but concluded tentatively that the English medium gave better results in English language tests but that the Vernacular medium gave better results in other classroom subjects. Unfortunately, the rather high ages of the children would have minimised differences between the groups, and the main source of debate would seem to be more concerned with much younger children.

In the Philippines, a series of investigations examined the progress of two groups of very young children from several schools. One group was taught in Vernacular, the other in English. The author reports overwhelming superiority of the Vernacular group in nearly all aspects. Even in English language tests, the Vernacular group soon surpassed the other when both groups had switched to English as a medium. The author also notes much greater enthusiasm and co-operation with parents, teachers and students (14).

A series of thoughtful articles by Grieve (15) and the translation of these ideas into the "Gold Coast Primary School Language Syllabus" of 1953 are worth noting. Wishing to create a more

positive approach to both English and Vernacular teaching, the syllabus aimed at "a degree of bilingualism, an aim which is adopted not because it is a compromise but because it seems that no other solution is possible for the schools of this country if they are to serve the needs of the people at all effectively" (16).

The Barnard Commission of 1956 examined some 2,500 children all over Ghana and concluded, with one dissentient, that the use of English as a medium of instruction was not feasible, with some doubt as to whether it was even desirable.

Then there is a very complex problem as to what is the best age for learning a second language. Dr Wilder Penfield, speaking of the specialised areas of the cerebrum concerned with speech, reading and writing, believes that there is an optimum age when these areas are most plastic. He believes that young children are physiologically more adept at learning language skills (17). Yet most psychologists agree that the development of intelligence and other mental abilities involved in language continues up to the age of sixteen or so.

If it is accepted that physiological and psychological development have different rates of growth and different optima, and that "plasticity" can be translated in significant terms, it would still remain to estimate these optima under varying cultural conditions and to assess their interaction in respect of second language acquisition. Ethno-psychiatric studies report the prevalence of gross nutritional and vitamin deficiencies, as well as a high incidence of such mentally destructive conditions as cerebral malaria and syphilis, in these under-developed countries. Such adverse conditions would certainly retard the physical and mental development of the children.

If, as Dr Penfield wisely points out, we should not teach things too late, Professor Schonell also warns us against starting things too early. In a memorable passage which contains the distillation of classroom wisdom, he says:

The teaching of both reading and number would greatly benefit if we allowed children time to really understand and assimilate, indirectly and informally, at their own pace and through carefully planned experiences, the fundamental concepts in these two subjects, namely, the meaning of language and the meaning of numbers (18).

The psychological picture then, as to the most suitable age to introduce a second language, is confused, but at least we do know that young children under certain conditions can learn a second language (19). And this does not imply that older people, of greater intelligence, ability and experience, are unable to do so. Examples

given of the way in which young children often pick up a second language much more quickly than their parents could well be explained in terms of motivation, practice and opportunity, and comparable conditions may well not obtain with the young classroom learner (20). It may also be seen in terms of the separate "manipulative" and "declarative" functions of language, and in the greater social rigidity of adults in a new community.

The long controversy about the effects of bilingualism on the intelligence of Welsh children (21) while still unresolved, at least suggests that bilingualism does not involve gross and obvious intellectual disadvantages, and if skilfully handled may bring certain cultural gains (22).

The final piece of research to be quoted is one carried out in Ghana, during 1960, by the present writer (23). The main investigation was into the mastery of the tools of English by Ghanaian children from five primary schools. It involved the individual application of a large number of specially devised or modified tests of: Word Recognition, Sentence Structure, Vocabulary (Vernacular and English), Spelling, Fluency in Writing and Name Writing.

Certain aspects of the research were continued to higher age levels using as subjects students from secondary schools and training colleges.

How did the primary school children fare in the tests of their mastery of the tools of English? Twenty-five children were from Primary 1 (av. age 6 yrs. 6 mths.) and only thirteen of them had any measurable English vocabulary. On a simple picture test of English language usage, only one of the twenty-five obtained any score at all. The average numbers of English words known were estimated as follows:

Best School—from 50 (P.1) to 3,600 (P.6)

Worst School—from 50 (P.1) to 1,600 (P.6)

Not until Primary 5 (age 11+) do all the classes have an average English speech vocabulary of at least 1,000 words. This means, of course, that there will be many individual children knowing less than this number of words. A subsequent investigation discovered that even when two pupils possessed the same estimated number of words in their vocabulary, the actual items could be quite different. Thus the common "core" of words known by a class of children would probably be relatively small.

Nor is there any indication of a steep rise in standards in those

classes which, according to official policy, had been taught through the medium of English.

In marked contrast to this poor mastery of the tools of English is the children's proficiency in their Vernacular vocabulary. The following Table shows the estimates of the English and Vernacular vocabularies of a group of children from one school:

<i>Age</i>	<i>Pupil</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>English vocab.</i>	<i>Vernacular vocab.</i>
12 y. 8 m.	A	P.6	1600	5000
10 y. 3 m.	B	P.5	1600	6200
9 y. 0 m.	C	P.4	1100	5700
8 y. 5 m.	D	P.3	700	4700
7 y. 3 m.	E	P.2	800	5300
6 y. 3 m.	F	P.1	300	3100
<i>Average</i>			1020	5000
9 y. 0 m.				

It is obvious that the Vernacular vocabulary is consistently far in advance of the English, and is ready for normal classroom use. It is equally obvious that with the children quoted, English would be a most inefficient medium of instruction.

The results suggest that the English vocabulary of the children leaving the primary school at 12+ is rather smaller than their Vernacular vocabulary on arrival at age 6+, and also lower than the vocabulary of English children leaving an infant school.

In so far as control groups of English children and test norms can be used as a basis of comparison, the African school children had an average "Vocabulary Quotient" of 34 (English norm 100). Their scores in the more mechanical tests were higher, producing, for example, an average "Word Recognition Quotient" of 64.

It is reasonable to suppose that the measure of deficiency in their response to the test battery applied, is closely related to a deficiency both in the ability to use the tools of English, and in the more subtle ability to use living English flexibly and coherently.

It was also discovered that secondary school and training college students, educated under the most favourable circumstances, with native English-speaking teachers, seemed to be also far below the levels of comparable English groups. Two surveys of teachers' opinions confirmed many of the conclusions experimentally derived and the indications are that African pupils could not show their true intellectual worth in English alone.

I will not discuss here the pedagogic and psychological implica-

tions of teaching and learning in a foreign tongue at a very early age, further than to say that externally applied standards which are too high can only ensure the maladjustment of both teacher and pupil.

To recapitulate my main points: we have been making an analysis of the basic ingredients in an acceptable language policy for the new independent nations. This analysis has led us to consider:

- (a) The functions of language in society,
- (b) The history, distant and recent, of solutions adopted in certain countries,
- (c) Certain psychological and educational factors, in the light of research results over the last decade,
- (d) A special analysis of the policy recently promulgated in Ghana.

The above considerations will not apply equally in all areas, and one must always beware of the false analogy. Yet, the writer believes that the problem is amenable to a realistic solution along sound lines. This solution lies in the "linguistic partnership"—the development of the resources available in both the Vernacular society and the chosen World Language. The writer believes that, in our present stage of linguistic development, a unilateral solution can hardly do justice to the large number of relevant considerations, some of which he has outlined above.

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RUGBY SCHOOL, LEGALITY AND LOCAL REACTION 1800-1878

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IT is common knowledge that the income from the endowments at the great Public Schools in the nineteenth century was largely spent in ways which their respective Founders would not have countenanced at all. Abuses had crept in over the centuries and in some cases great care was taken to hide the irregularities. Some of this was exposed by a parliamentary committee under Henry Brougham in 1818, with obvious concern about the legality of the schools involved (1). Even so little was done nationally to remedy the situation, and in spite of much new material, the general picture drawn for us by E. C. Mack holds true (2). However, the national story explains little since it omits entirely any local reaction, at the very places where it was most bitter and where it involved personalities and social class warfare. This local picture illuminates the national situation and helps to explain why flagrant abuse went unchecked. For this purpose Rugby is a convenient school since it was housed in an isolated community.

There is no doubt that the founder of Rugby School, Lawrence Sheriff, had in mind a small school to serve his own small community, and that it was to provide an apprenticeship to the classics, open to all and free (3). By 1800 all this had been lost. The school was already devoted to a narrow section of the upper class drawn from all over Britain with a few from overseas. Some of the boys were the sons of local gentry and professional men, and they were admitted under the foundation as free scholars. Theoretically the same privilege was open to any other boy of the town, yet very few took advantage of it. None the less the injustice was well known and the fight against it took three forms—the action of isolated individuals, the defiance of the headmaster by local traders, and the final co-operative action of several social layers of the community. It so happened that each of these three forms succeeded one another historically, spread over the century from the earliest years to 1878.

The first challenge came when the Trustees proposed to use their accumulated funds for the purpose of building a new boarding school. Francis Stratford, Master in the Chancery Court, objected to this on the grounds that this new school would be catering for boys from all over the country, whereas Lawrence Sheriff had expressly stated that the children of Rugby and neighbourhood should benefit. The first advocate of the local cause was therefore an outsider, unconnected as far as is known with school or town, considering the matter purely as a legal problem. It is the only instance of such "external" interference. This dispute was referred finally to the Lord Chancellor who ruled in favour of the Trustees on 14th April 1808. It meant that, on that occasion at least Lawrence Sheriff's money could be spent on people other than locals. On the other hand the Founder had specifically mentioned—"the children of Rugby and Brownesover"—and the town never forgot it.

In addition to the normal fees covering class work and boarding, a boy had to pay for "extras". By 1826, with mathematics, a tutor, candles, not to mention such frills as dancing, about twelve guineas was involved. It was enough to keep out all the lower classes and most of the middle classes as well, and the first person to object sufficiently for his name to be on record was a solicitor, William Ferdinand Wratislaw. He was the son of an Hungarian nobleman who had come to this country and settled soon after he had attended the wedding of Marie Antoinette. On 28th February 1826 the son petitioned both Houses of Parliament about the injustice of local boys having to pay at Rugby School. He supported his argument by an analysis of the school's accounts, and suggested that the balance of £1,401 14s. 9*½*d. should be spent on the education of the poor of Rugby. The Trustees promptly agreed to the cancellation of all expenses for local boys at the school, and the education of the poor appears to have been forgotten.

This same Wratislaw had a large family of five sons. He looked to the local school for their education and claimed that, under the terms of Lawrence Sheriff's will, they were entitled to a complete education from an early age. At that time the headmaster was Thomas Arnold, and he did not agree that a Public School should cater for beginners at all from the age of seven or eight, and slowly, after the first few years, he began to discourage the younger brethren until, by 1838, he was able to abolish forms 1 and 2 completely. This meant that a boy had now to learn the rudiments of Latin at a preparatory school or elsewhere. Personal protests by Wratislaw met

with no response and ultimately he found one other local man to support him—H. S. Gibb—and they both pressed the matter to the Chancery Court in 1839. After a long struggle Wratislaw won his case with costs, and Arnold had to accept the remaining Wratislaw and Gibb children even though they knew no Latin (4). However, no general attempt was made to restore the lost forms, and the local children who happened to attend in spite of the headmaster's displeasure had to be coached specially.

The Wratislaw case of 1839 was the last of the individual protests. His social position was exceptional. As an acknowledged member of a foreign nobility he was the social superior of everyone locally in spite of his professional occupation. Without the English tradition behind him he was able to question national and local opinions on a rational basis, and this independence of mind made him and his family Radicals in a predominantly Tory neighbourhood. The probe into his own rights was no doubt as much a reflection of his own position as a member of the first generation on foreign soil as a consequence of his experience as a solicitor and his ability to assess the legal position at first hand.

After Wratislaw came the revolt of the traders. A few middle class sons were always to be found at Rugby School, but the numbers from Rugby itself were few. On the other hand acceptance of the sons of gentry and local professional men—doctors, bankers and solicitors—was a traditional practice, and, more important still, the sons of such parents were accepted or at least grudgingly tolerated by the boys. In the 1830s and 1840s these "accepted" groups sent numbers varying from five to seventeen in each year, while the total number of traders' sons was only eleven for the same entire period of twenty years in spite of the large number of such children available. The trader's son had a very tough time. At the least he was ostracised and at the worst severely bullied, particularly in the lower forms. There is overwhelming evidence of this both from outside and inside the school, and enough of it was known locally to prevent the middle classes generally from risking their children (5). On the other hand there was no provision for middle class education in the town before 1840 apart from a special group at the lower class school, and the main mass went elsewhere—a few walked to Barnwell and Sheasby's School at Bilton, while others went as boarders to neighbouring towns, Daventry, Hinckley, Husbands Bosworth, Atherstone (6). This was expensive and even later, when a middle class day academy was set up, the cost varied from £6 to £10 p.a. depending on the

number of extras. Over Rugby School the traders were in a dilemma for they were dependent on it for trade while the headmasters actively discouraged use of the school. The declaration of a shop out of bounds could bring ruin and there was no lack of precedence for this. The traders were torn in two directions. Economy and their rights as townfolk and parents urged them to use the school, while economic survival forbade it. Very few braved the consequences and sent sons, although in one or two cases like the Sale and Edmunds families there was a long tradition of usage (7). While the school prospered the traders had the satisfaction of sharing in the prosperity even if denied their birthright, yet, when adversity came under the headmastership of Goulburn from 1850 to 1857 they lost both ways:

...the reason why the inhabitants do not avail themselves of the privilege (of educating their sons at Rugby School) is their general apathy, supineness and dread of losing the patronage of the masters, who derive their income from the Charity (8).

Even so four traders took courage and submitted sons (1855), but the next year the number was down to one, and reduced again the next year. However, with a new headmaster, the situation changed dramatically. Within months the prosperity of the town was restored and for two successive years they sent sons to the school in increasing numbers—five traders being involved in 1858 and twelve in 1859 (9). But that was the end. Middle class initiative declined rapidly never to be renewed, and this was in effect, the last defiance of tradition by the local traders. The explanation of this episode is linked with the background of the new headmaster, Frederick Temple. He was knowledgeable in the social sense by his association with the lower classes generally and the workhouse in particular through his Principalship at Kneller Hall, a college designed to produce teachers of children in the workhouses of the country. It was reasonable to suppose that such a man's sympathies would be wide and not geared specifically to the upper classes. This view was strengthened by the fact that he had written only two years before a paper on National Education, through which he had become one of the champions of middle class education. His scheme had involved a reassessment of the 704 grammar schools. While he felt that the great Public Schools were justified in clinging on to the classics, elsewhere it was a mistake. To the traders of Rugby his words must have sounded almost prophetic:

They [grammar schools] were intended for the education of the whole

community, but specially for that of the middle classes . . . yet the schools were assuredly not intended for the gentry alone, but rather looked to poverty as a special qualification for admission. The middle classes were thus marked out as the chief objects of the goodwill of the founders.

or again

These schools [grammar schools] were meant for the middle classes: they were meant to teach Greek and Latin. One must be sacrificed—either the persons or the things. Can there be a doubt which ought to be sacrificed (10)?

The whole trend of his writing emphasised the fact that his own school, Rugby, was not fulfilling its real object. Temple was embarrassed and could hardly object to the children of locals with the vigour of his predecessors. No wonder that traders' children poured in during 1858 and 1859. But the experiment was not successful. It was soon clear that Temple did not really welcome his new clients any more than the others had done. Any idea of mixing the social classes appalled him. In a similar situation he was later to warn the middle classes of Rugby most forcibly that they would ruin any middle class school of their own if they allowed entry to lower class children (11). Even so headmaster and school had a conscience, and we know that at one time the assistant masters formed a committee of their own to consider what could be done educationally for the town (12).

So the second phase of local resistance faded. The arguments continued and at least one pamphlet was published, but as far as records indicate the locality was relatively quiet up to and during the national clamour that led to the setting up of the Public Schools Commission. Eventually, in 1864, when this Commission published its findings it advised that any wishes of the Founder should be ignored since the modern town bore no resemblance to the Elizabethan counterpart and since Rugby School was in fact a long standing specialised boarding school and could not be altered. Their recommendation was obvious:

That the local qualification should, in course of time, cease to confer any advantage.

In one way the argument was sound enough. When Lawrence Sheriff, the founder, made his will in 1567, Rugby was a mere village of 350 people; by 1800 it was a town of almost 1,500. Had he been able to penetrate two and a half centuries of time he would have recognised nothing, for not only had the town grown but it had changed, and the only link with the past was the name of one tavern

—“The Hen and Chickens” (13). He would have found the people equally strange, not only in name but in habits, dress and manners. Only if he had moved right away from the people and their town would he have seen something familiar in the lie of the land, the flow of the Avon, and his own tiny hamlet of Brownsover. The town of 1800, however, bore no relation whatever to the Rugby of Lawrence Sheriff. But this was not the whole story and it is a big step from showing the weakness of an argument to assume that all claim is void and that a decision must be made in favour of the existing situation where indeed the argument was considerably weaker still.

Within the town itself the Report produced a sensation. There was real cause for complaint since the Commissioners had not asked for the opinions of any of the townsfolk proper. From this point of view the Report was very one-sided. The Commissioners had produced a very bulky document in four volumes but they were hardly neutral observers. Of the seven members, four were in titled aristocratic families, four were at Eton or had close relatives there, one went to Westminster and was a governor of Charterhouse, while another was an Old Rugbeian. As for the man who cannot thus be classified, he was W. H. Thompson, Regius Professor of Greek and future Master of Trinity, already deeply concerned about the effects of reform on his own college at Cambridge (14).

The Report produced a third and co-operative phase in the town's fight for its rights. Previously objection had come either from a single member of the community (Wratislaw) or from the trader group of the middle classes spurred on by such men as E. Edmunds, T. W. Tipler and J. Haswell. Hitherto the local gentry and professional classes had held aloof for the school had accepted their sons readily enough. But now the ban was to apply to everyone, gentry as much as trader, while the town would no longer attract rich residents merely for the sake of the education (15). In the matter of justice and in terms of economics the town was threatened with starvation.

Among the first to react was the headmaster, Temple, himself. He suggested that £600 p.a. of the income from the charity be spent in providing a separate school for the middle classes of the town. Fifty local boys would be taught there free and seven boys a year would pass from this school into Rugby School proper. This “lower” school was to concentrate on a sound commercial education of English, writing, mathematics, French, Latin, but no Greek (16). Unfortunately Temple had chosen the wrong moment and everyone

condemned the scheme since the offered £600 did not begin to compare with the Sheriff income of £5,000, while a cash settlement of the kind suggested appeared to some almost in the nature of a bribe for the surrender of the town's rights.

The Report of the Public Schools Commission was followed by the Public Schools Bill. Under this free education at Rugby was to cease although the Governing Body was to use part of the income for the benefit of the town, perhaps in the form of a new school.

This official proposal met with even more resistance than Temple's original plan. All classes except the lower joined together. A public meeting was called for 22nd March 1865 and a committee formed of the Rector, the brother of the Lord of the Manor, other gentry, a banker, professional men and traders, with solicitors acting as secretaries and a backing of £652 to cover expenses (17). The campaign was off to a fine start but when a petition of protest was opened for the public to sign, only 200 in fact did so. In a population of 8,000 this is a very small number and represents less than a third of the gentry and middle class adults alone. The vast majority of the gentry and most of the trading classes held aloof. The lower classes were, as always, mere spectators. This small response was not entirely due to apathy for many of the traders were frightened of Temple's displeasure, and the gentry who had come to the town specially for the education had the welfare of their sons at the school as their prime and indeed only consideration.

The town was not the only party to object to the Bill; the Trustees of the school had their own complaints and, with all the arguments and objections both local and national, the Bill was delayed in Parliament through 1865, 1866 and 1867, and was not passed until 1868.

The new Act did not finish the controversy and there was another ten years of bitter local argument to come, partly over the Statutes of the Big School and partly over the details of the new school to be built under the provision of the Act. Yet for all practical purposes 1868 settled the town-school situation. What mattered henceforth was not what the Founder had meant but what the new Act said.

Over the course of 300 years Lawrence Sheriff's intent had undergone a strange evolution. There is no mention of "boys" in the original document but only "children", and yet it became a boys' school exclusively. Only one person, a gentry sojourner who stayed on to give a lead in town affairs, ever mentioned this point, and that at a stage too late to be effective (18). Each social class above the

lower looked upon Lawrence Sheriff as specially having themselves in mind. Thus the gentry considered themselves the chosen people and so did the traders in their turn. In fact there is no evidence of any kind whatever to suggest the the founder had any class distinctions in mind at all. Indeed the inferences are all the other way, for a village of 350 could not possibly have provided work for a single social class school other than a lower class one. And yet only three people ever raised their voices on behalf of the lower classes loud enough to be traced easily. One of these was W. F. Wratislaw when trying to extract concessions from the Trustees in 1826, the second was his son A. H. Wratislaw, and the third, W. I. Tait, a man of lower class origin turned schoolmaster and editor (19). All were ignored.

The story of Rugby is clear. The whole town knew from the turn of the century that their school was not encouraging local youth and thereby was morally guilty at least of using funds meant for the townsfolk. This was also known on a national scale by the revelations of Henry Brougham and the incredible situation at Eton. Brougham indeed contended that the endowed schools were carried on purely for the benefit of the masters who encouraged exclusiveness because their rich patrons demanded it and paid handsomely (20). That Rugby School was truly vulnerable is shown by the ease with which a man of resource, knowledge and drive, like W. F. Wratislaw, could prove it in a court of law when necessary. But Wratislaw was an isolate. His status, as we have seen, is difficult to determine, and his Radical opinions and actions made him as hated locally as Arnold himself, so that the only one willing to join forces was the magistrate, Gibb, with the considerable financial burden of educating seven sons. At that particular period there were, apart from the middle classes, over fifty local households, gentry and professional, with children either at the school, about to enter or about to leave. None of these or any other locals either, except M. H. Bloxam, gave Wratislaw any support in spite of the fact that they stood to benefit greatly and had a common bond in having children at the same school. There was no social cohesion here at all and it would appear that justice was less important than tradition and personal convenience, or even than the distrust of Radicals in a particularly difficult period of social reform.

In a wider context in the town, as at Harrow, public meetings were held from time to time to consider the position; meetings attended by all sections of the community where the same grievances were aired continually. Nothing was ever done except on the last

occasion when the Public Schools Bill had undermined the privilege of the local gentry and professionals in sending their sons to the school. On all other occasions the local leaders of society did not feel the same sense of urgency since they already used the school without hindrance. The middle classes were therefore left to fight alone as indeed they attempted to do on one occasion.

It would seem from the example of Rugby (and supported by our knowledge of happenings at Harrow and Shrewsbury) that the question of individual rights in education was a matter of great interest to a community which had acknowledged rights of its own. For Rugby at least those who were not personally denied their rights (local professionals and local gentry) did not actively support those who were (the traders) so that educational convenience and social antipathy were more important than educational justice. This class distinction is reflected lower down the social scale in that neither of these two groups supported lower class rights. Moreover, the episode of Wratislaw indicates that a lead could be resisted even within the same social class for reasons of political antipathy and the general distrust of those who questioned accepted ideas and institutions.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Third Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders, 1818. This report deals, among other matters, with Eton and Winchester.
2. Mack, E. C., *Public Schools and British Opinion 1780-1860* (1938). Also *Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860* (1941).
3. The text of Lawrence Sheriff's Will, Intent and Codicil may be seen in: Bloxam, M. H., *Rugby*, 1889, pp. 16-23.
4. The dispute between Wratislaw, Arnold and Rugby School was a complicated affair and also involved exhibitions and residence. For details see: *Report of the Proceeding respecting Rugby School before the Right Honourable Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls*, etc., Rugby, 1839.
5. *Rugby Advertiser*, 24.9.1853, 4.11.1865 and 7.5.1904. The evidence of the Rugby School Masters and others to the Public Schools Commission (1864) was unanimous on this point. See the evidence of C. T. Arnold, Lee Warner, C. A. Anstey, A. Sidgwick, etc. There was also a gulf between the boarders and the boys of Town House, see *Rugby Advertiser*, 26.1.1878.
6. The lower class school mentioned was Elborow School, Headmaster William Lee. The Bloxam brothers were scholars there.
7. Edmunds claimed that his family had used the school for 120 years. Apart from traders other middle class parents, more acceptable to

the authorities, sent sons to Rugby School. Typical of these was Luke Jeayes, Master of Elborow School.

8. *Rugby Advertiser*, 12.5.1855.
9. The relevant parental occupations of local tradesmen over the period 1857-1862 were as follows:
 - 1857: none.
 - 1858: baker, coal merchant, tailor, chemist, tailor.
 - 1859: tailor, rope maker, upholsterer, butcher, tailor, schoolmaster becoming businessman (two boys), jeweller, draper, farmer, builder, broker, one other.
 - 1860: teacher (two boys), bootmaker, cooper.
 - 1861: printer, wine merchant, coal merchant, one other.
 - 1862: none.
 The length of time these boys stayed at the school is of some interest. For the entrants of the year 1859, for instance, out of seven boys whose schooling can be traced easily, three stayed for one year, and one for each of three years, four years, five years and eight years. It would seem from this that some of these middle class children had sufficient strength of character to persist with this education in spite of the difficulties.
10. Temple, F., "National Education", contained in *Oxford Essays* (London, 1856).
11. A typical remark from Temple, among many, was made at a meeting over the creation of the middle class school: "You remember what we said about letting in boys from the National schools. You would have it flooded, and it would seriously pull the school down, and for a time would swamp it, and give it a character which it would be very difficult to get rid of". *Rugby Advertiser*, 13.2.1878. At that time Temple had left Rugby and was Bishop of Exeter.
12. Evidence of Mr Buckoll to the Public Schools Commission. It ran into formidable difficulties.
13. In Sheep Street. Now extinct.
14. The Commissioners were: Lord Clarendon, Lord Devon, Lord Lyttleton, Hon. E. Twisleton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Professor Thompson, H. H. Vaughan.
At Eton: Lyttleton, Northcote. With close relatives at Eton: Clarendon, Twisleton.
At Rugby: Vaughan.
At Westminster: Devon.
15. The residents who came to Rugby were called sojourners, and there was always argument on the length of stay necessary before a sojourner could really be called a true inhabitant of Rugby. From 1830 a two-year residence was necessary before benefits could be obtained from the Foundation, and the school authorities had powers to raise this to four years if necessary.
16. For details, see *Rugby Advertiser*, 30.7.1864.
17. For details, see *Rugby Advertiser*, 25.3.1865. For a final statement on finances etc., *ibid.*, 16.1.1869.
18. J. A. Campbell.

19. A. H. Wratislaw was at this period Headmaster of King Edward VI Free Grammar School at Bury St. Edmunds. He wrote a pamphlet published 1864 entitled: *A Plea for the Ancient Charitable Foundation of Rugby School*. In this, among many other things, he mentions his father's activities. He also supports Brougham's contention that the charity had been turned to the benefit of the schoolmasters.
20. Brougham's attack on the abuse of charities was continuous from 1816 at least. His attitude is perhaps best seen from his speeches on educational topics but the most specific condemnation is seen in his comments on the case concerning Atherstone School.

BOOK NOTICES

M. V. C. JEFFREYS, *Revolution in Teacher-Training* (Pitman, 1961, 12s. 6d.).

RECORDING a revolution still current is a hazardous task, particularly when it has as many ramifications as this one. By successfully accomplishing it Professor Jeffreys has once again put us all in his debt, for few branches of education have suffered more from misrepresentation than teacher training.

What, in the author's analysis, are the changes which comprise the revolution? They are, briefly: the inauguration of the three-year course; the 100% expansion of training facilities by the late sixties; the establishment of a constitutional relationship between training colleges and universities through the A.T.O.s; the establishment of an intimate relationship between the training colleges themselves and between training colleges and university departments of education; the increasing opportunities for participation by training college staff in further study and research and in the conduct of advanced courses of training and study; the liberalisation of conditions in the training colleges for both students and staff; the change of emphasis from the production of technically competent practitioners to the production of educated persons.

We are reminded that the full benefits of the three-year course will be obtained only if there is less formal teaching, more tutorial work and more private study by students. Some further surgery on students' time-tables will be necessary before the third of these requirements can be fully met, while in relation to the first two the excessive time-table commitments of most training college lecturers is seen as a prime obstacle. "A training college lecturer's time-table usually resembles a school teacher's time-table rather than that of a university lecturer." Less formal teaching and more tutorial work will both have the effect of increasing rather than decreasing the lecturer's total burden of work and the need for an improvement in the staff-student ratio is indicated, especially, it may be added, in college education departments, where the ratio is usually worst.

The facts and figures of the expansion programme are presented non-controversially: "The present programme, in short, is believed to be the largest which is practicable without loss of quality", though it will produce only 340,000 teachers by 1970 instead of the 430,000 needed. Highly controversial problems of policy such as those centring on the size and location of colleges have remained largely unresolved in terms of principle, since the "expansion of the expansion programme" necessitated as a matter of expediency the continuance of almost all colleges, whatever their size or

location. The author is generously tolerant of the Ministry's part in promulgating expansion policy, as will be inferred from the statement that "The Ministry are careful to consult the Institutes on matters of policy (such as the expansion of a college or the development of a specialised department in a college)." Similarly, the bald facts of the Ministry's balance of training document are set out without prejudice.

The change of aim from the production of technically competent practitioners to the production of well educated persons is seen as one of the most fundamental in the revolution. "The most important single instrument of personal education will be the deep and thorough study of a main subject to a standard comparable with that expected in the subjects taken for a general degree at a university." Despite some doubts as to whether the swing from technique may not already have gone too far and an affirmation that there can be no "ultimate separation between the education of the person and his preparation for his profession", Professor Jeffreys is certain that "the heavy emphasis on classroom technique which characterized teacher-training fifty years ago will not return".

In examining the question of academic studies in the three-year course the author inevitably becomes involved in the related problem of the proper content of sixth form studies. He considers it necessary that we should review the qualifications for entry to training colleges with the object of securing a broader spread of subjects. Most training college lecturers would probably endorse this. Many would go further and suggest a review not only of the number and nature of the subjects offered by a candidate but also of the manner of his acquiring them. The painful and piecemeal agglomeration in a number of sittings of an ultimate total of subjects above the minimum required can mask an intellectual poverty in many apparently well qualified candidates.

Professor Jeffreys notes the influence of the development of scientific child study and of the growth of social psychology on the group of professional studies comprising the education course. He is more sanguine about the relative strength of the psychological and sociological aspects of these studies than he is about the philosophical and rightly draws our attention to the need for greater teaching strength on that side. In view of his advocacy, at a later stage in the book, of a B.Ed. degree, he might possibly agree that one of our most urgent needs in this group of studies is to evolve a differential level for the most able students corresponding to the main course level in the other academic subjects.

The secondary modern school is regarded as presenting the greatest challenge to professional training in the next decade. In these schools are many children who are not interested in academic studies, on whom the stigma of failure has prematurely settled and who are reaching physiological maturity earlier. By and large they are being taught, thinks Professor Jeffreys, by teachers in whose higher education the intellectual processes have been developed out of proportion to their emotional responses. He

sees the need for further enrichment of the emotional side of the higher education of teachers, though no doubt he would concede that the colleges have progressed considerably in this direction since the war and have not been unmindful either of the special challenge of the secondary modern school. It may also be interposed here that the proposed channelling of all but 15% of training college students away from the secondary modern schools and their replacement by graduates with an even more academically biased higher education will scarcely help to achieve the re-orientation in the secondary modern school teacher that Professor Jeffreys wants.

In considering the special problems of professional training raised by the needs of further education, county colleges and youth service the danger is stressed of developing such training separately from that of other teachers and there is an insistence on the value of associating the training of teachers for different branches of work. References to the need for social science studies in this training prompt the suggestion that if some training colleges are to develop as Colleges of Liberal Studies others might equally well develop as Colleges of Social Science, though Professor Jeffreys uses neither of these titles.

He sees an intensification of the present trend for advanced training for serving teachers as one of the significant features of the future. "We should look forward to a time when it will be normal, and no longer exceptional, for teachers to come back for more after some years in school." It is important that more should be done to de-centralise these advanced courses, which are as yet mainly concentrated in the universities and that training colleges should take an increasing share of them. "It is not good that the work of a training college should be limited to the provision of initial training for young teachers."

The author's reflections on university status are particularly relevant at present when it seems that the choice may soon confront us between making closer the connexion between the universities and teacher training or completely severing it. "No institution can claim university status if it offers *merely* vocational training—but this view does not by any means exclude professional training, which in certain fields, (such as Law and Medicine), has for centuries given added point and purpose to general inquiry."

Nevertheless, in the chapter headed "Bridges to a University Degree" Professor Jeffreys indulges in no false optimism regarding ways and means of smoothing the non-graduate's path to a Bachelor's degree. The suggestion usually made that a certain standard in the main subject taken in the three-year course at a training college might be accepted by the universities as exempting the student from part of the period of full-time study for a first degree finds little favour with him. In the first place, he argues, the universities do not like the "external" principle involved, in the second place they would almost certainly wish to control training college syllabuses if they did and in the third place they would be unlikely

to allow a good performance in the main subject of the college course to count for more than one year of the degree course. All of this, if true, certainly adds up to an unattractive proposition.

Professor Jeffreys sees as a more hopeful line of approach the establishment by the universities of a new Bachelor's degree in Education, taken by one year of full-time study, to which approved candidates who had taken the three-year course at a training college could be admitted. He envisages this as a degree in Education, with some years of teaching experience as a condition of entry. Both these elements, but especially the latter, would seem to reduce its immediate motivational value to some of the best of our training college students, though the path via B.Ed. to M.Ed. or M.A. in Education would be an attractive one to many.

It may well be that the seeming reluctance of the universities to become much further involved in teacher training will be used by other bodies to forward other schemes for satisfying the aspirations to graduate status of the teaching profession. Sir William Alexander has put before the A.E.C. his plan for the establishment of Regional Councils charged with administering all institutions of higher education other than Universities or Colleges of Advanced Technology and empowered to grant qualifications of pass degree level, leaving the honours degree level to the Universities and C.A.T.s. Training Colleges would, it is suggested, come within the jurisdiction of these Regional Councils.

It would certainly seem that the revolution in teacher training is still gathering momentum and that the evidence submitted to the Robbins Committee may have a crucial influence on its future course. All the more important, therefore, that this book should reach as wide a public as possible. It is particularly desirable that it should reach the teachers themselves. It is lucid, concise, balanced, informative, constructive—an admirable basis for the sort of reflection and discussion that ought to be going on in a profession with aspirations to shape the future pattern of its own training. A copy in every school staff room is clearly indicated.

J. CORNWELL

J. E. COLLINS, *The Effects of Remedial Education* (Univ. Birm. Educ. Monog. IV, Oliver and Boyd, 1961, 15s.).

SINCE the War many local education authorities have provided remedial education services for children thought to be achieving less success than they should in reading and arithmetic. Very efficient and often specially trained teachers have been appointed, to give them enlightened teaching under as favourable conditions as possible. The results have appeared to be highly satisfactory, gains in scores on reading tests being very much greater than those achieved by children in ordinary schools in a comparable time.

One of the first to express doubts about this apparently satisfactory state of affairs was Curr, and when in 1953 he and Gourlay advanced experimental evidence showing that the gains reported as due to remedial teaching were probably spurious, and that the methods of selection of children by means of standardised tests were probably no better than a class teacher's judgment, the findings proved difficult to accept by workers in the field. The experimental procedures of Curr and Gourlay were criticised, among others by this reviewer; but the only answer to a rigorously designed experiment is further experiment. This is what Collins has done and his results fully confirm their findings.

There is much more in this monograph than the report of an experiment. The first of the three parts gives an extensive, critical survey of the previous work in the field. It deals with the basic concept of retardation as opposed to dullness, with the supposed causes of educational failure and with estimates of its frequency in the school population. There follow descriptions of the methods which remedial teachers have used and a survey of the reports of results of remedial education up to and including the Curr and Gourlay experiment which was, in fact, the only properly designed study aimed at answering specific questions. The others were mainly post hoc reports of the work of remedial schemes of various kinds and had little precision in their experimental design; above all there was no systematic follow-up of cases to test the permanence of the remedial treatment.

Part 2 of the monograph reports the main experiment. The children in the experimental population were typical of those which remedial centres usually handle and claim to treat successfully; they included those whose reading skill was well below the average in spite of apparently adequate schooling. There were no obviously maladjusted children among them. There were two treated groups, one attending the Remedial Education Centre of the University of Birmingham and one receiving treatment in the children's own schools by peripatetic teachers, and a control group which received ordinary schooling. Children and teachers were assigned at random to the various groups. The immediate results were comparable with those reported by earlier workers showing considerable gains in mechanical skills; follow-up studies after one and two years, however, showed that the gains were not permanent. Similar results were found in arithmetic and spelling and with children who had been treated at the Centre some time previously. Attempts were also made to assess the effect of remedial teaching on such variables as social, emotional and intellectual growth. Here again, though the findings are less clear, there seemed little indication of significant changes due to remedial education.

The last part of the book is entitled "Re-examination of the concept of Remedial Education" and deals with the methods of remedial teachers and with the concept of retardation. With regard to the latter, Dr Collins reiterates the views of such as P. E. Vernon, Pidgeon, Yates and Brimer

in concluding that "the diagnosis of retardation is not scientific and the statistical concept of remediable retardation is not based upon a coherent theory" and that the use of the achievement quotient as a means of selection is untenable and should be discarded. Of the methods used, the main conclusion would seem to be that they were ineffective because they added nothing to the learning situation provided by the schools, and that emotional attitudes in the remedial classes being "without essential change from the dogmatism and formalism of the ordinary school" were inimical to the creation of a therapeutic atmosphere.

The implications of this book are far wider than the special field of remedial education. Probably the most important aspect to which Dr Collins points concerns the fundamental nature of the reading process itself. He seems convinced, as is this reviewer, that learning to read is a developmental process like learning to speak and to walk, and, like them, is heavily dependent upon maturational factors and hence not very susceptible to methods of teaching. Given a benign environment, ample opportunity to gain readiness through social contacts which develop speech and encourage exploration and manipulation, and abundant opportunities for exercising verbal skills, it is probable that reading and writing will develop with the minimum of interference from the teacher. Children will learn reading without being taught to read—but they will do it in their own time in accordance with their own individual rate of growth.

These ideas will not yet be acceptable to many teachers. One disaster which could follow the publication of this book would be the closing of remedial centres. The findings do not justify this. What they point to is a new approach based upon a more enlightened study of child growth in all its aspects and freed from the ideas connected with the outmoded accomplishment quotient. This new approach could probably be best tried out in the centres.

L. B. BIRCH

MARJORIE RANDALL, *Basic Movement*. A new approach to gymnastics
 (G. Bell and Sons, York House, Portugal St., London, W.C.2,
 1961, 9s. 6d.)

THERE is perhaps no other subject which has stimulated more discussion in the physical education profession in recent years than Basic Movement. In its present stage of development it can no longer be regarded as an isolated system but rather as an approach which has a bearing on the development of the whole child. The suggestion that the child is now her own leader exploring her own possibilities and aptitudes to various skills is not a new one to those concerned with other subjects; on the other hand the considerable claims made for the power of "unconscious physical thought" in skill learning may cause some violent reactions in the physical education world. The implications that by training children in time,

strength and space they should then be able to select the right use of these elements for whatever physical actions they have to perform need to be carefully examined. This is perhaps the core of the main controversy in the profession at the present time and it is in raising such issues that Miss Randall's book may prove most useful.

Miss Randall's first chapter is comprehensive in scope. She suggests that educational theory and practice related to physical education develop spirally coming round again at a higher level of understanding. She then elaborates on this idea and in effect presents an interesting viewpoint of current developments, putting into perspective many of the problematic points which have faced both men and women in the profession in the past few years. The distinction is brought out between Scandinavian gymnastics and women's gymnastics based on Laban's movement qualities where "the starting point is not restricted to isolated parts of the body . . ." And "the final result is not limited to mere strength of suppleness but rather these ends will be served incidentally". She suggests that male gymnastics are tied very much to the traditional Scandanivan concept and in this respect it may be queried whether Miss Randall does justice to recent developments in men's work in this country. Another difference which emerges is that "the masculine approach to gymnastics separates content from method". whereas "movement gymnastics require the intelligent co-operation of the child, rendering command-response methods obsolete". These challenging statements are likely to evoke a lively response from male colleagues. The author examines other points of discussion such as the overlapping of dance and gymnastics, individual differences and feminine needs. She pays particular attention to the needs of adolescent girls and her suggestion that "it is in the gymnasium that the big awkward girl can be helped most of all" is in itself a powerful argument in favour of the new approach. Nevertheless Miss Randall gives credit to the old system in many respects and while in little doubt that the Basic Movement approach "at its best is vastly superior to the old type of work", points out the dangers of regarding ourselves as "nicely saved".

The main bulk of the book is concerned with the content of Basic Movement; there are four chapters covering flow and weight transference, themes, action tasks and movement tasks, observation and partner work. The meaning of such terms as "flow" and "weight", which have been used rather loosely in women's work, are analysed and the explanations are given in language which should be comprehensible to a wide variety of readers and not only to those students and teachers who have been trained in this approach. This should do much to dispel the clouds which have surrounded this so-called "mystique" and the practical examples given throughout will be an added help to practising teachers. It is evident that content and method converge in this section but these apparent digressions from content to method are obviously the result of Miss Randall's wide and varied teaching experience and are implicit in her out-

line of the subject. For the purpose of communication through the printed word, however, a separate chapter on presentation might have been useful.

In her chapter on time, weight and space Miss Randall brings forward some points of considerable relevance to games players; she touches on such aspects as transfer of training, children's powers of selection and rejection in skill learning and she makes some interesting comments on overload principles in strengthening work for girls. There is a stimulating suggestion for research in this field and indeed this sort of challenge typifies the book itself. In many ways this publication is an attempt to answer problems set by A. D. Munrow in his book *Pure and Applied Gymnastic*. As this is widely recognised as one of the most challenging books on this subject of the present century such an attempt is both courageous and worthwhile. It is true to say however that the book was written primarily for women students and teachers and while some may not go all the way with her and others would have gone further, the author is to be congratulated on producing a "co-ordinated clarification of the subject" as well as an excellent starting point for many varied discussions. The lack of illustrations may be regretted by some but instead we have some original ideas on new apparatus which should encourage those teachers who feel the restricting effects of using traditional apparatus (designed for other purposes). Perhaps they may look forward to some exciting experiments on the "revolving lifebelt" or the "reversible horse dome" in the near future. This is an eminently readable book and, to borrow a phrase from the author herself, "informality is the keynote". Miss Randall's sympathy and humour are apparent throughout the pages and for this very reason this publication is likely to do much to bridge the gap between the "old" and the "new" and between men's work and women's work.

CHRISTINE ROBERTS

EILEEN M. CHURCHILL, *Counting and Measuring*. (Routledge, London, 1961, 18s.)

THIS is a book which will appeal to primary school teachers. Many examples of children's questions and observations are skilfully related with important recent researches into children's reasoning or mathematical thinking. There is, besides, much of practical value in suggestions for graded exercises, apparatus for counting, games, activities and equipment to aid development of spatial concepts.

The introduction is concerned with some of the difficulties children encounter from their own inability to reason correctly and from inadequate teaching; but the discussion of these which the reader will be anxious to pursue is postponed until Chapter 5. The intervening chapters deal with the development of mathematical notations and concepts in the history of mankind and the beginnings of concept formation in infancy; although

both are relevant, their treatment at some length breaks the thread of the argument. Most readers will probably prefer to omit these chapters until later.

The remainder of the book deals with the way in which children develop abstractions from their experiences and makes suggestions for helping them to do so. The idea of number must grow through very varied experiences from mere imitation of words to correct use of a concept in any situation. Miss Churchill believes that in many schools children proceed too early to use number in an abstract way and are too narrowly confined in their experiences.

Piaget's ideas on the development of children's thinking are outlined. In view of the great importance of his work many readers who find his books difficult might have appreciated a fuller treatment of it with more examples. However, his belief that concepts are developed through the actions of the children, and the stages of development which are passed through in achieving a concept, are described and illustrated.

Although throughout the book the value of daily life experiences is stressed the contribution of structural apparatus to mathematical understanding is also considered. The pleasure which young children take in playing with the pieces is not expected to result in realisation of number concepts without the skilled aid of the teacher.

Many of the suggestions for practical work will already be followed in good primary schools, but not all teachers will have considered the point of view that some apparatus, and games, however enjoyable, do nothing to assist formation of concepts and give less practice in computation than is given by working sums. Many teachers would be interested, and perhaps surprised, if they followed the suggestion of giving the 'Number Readiness Test' (Ch. 8), a test of concept understanding, to children who appear to have a good grasp of simple number operations.

R. BEARD

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HERBERT SPENCER AND THE APOTHEOSIS OF SCIENCE

by ALAN PRICE

Lecturer in Education, Queen's University, Belfast

I

So far as it is possible (since history is a ceaseless flux) to mark a distinct stage in the progress of human affairs the eighteen-fifties may be said to be a turning-point between the old, agricultural England and the new industrial England. The early eighteen-forties were still near to the eras of dynastic ambitions and peasant risings, to the sway of the landed interest and private philanthropy, to rotten boroughs and belief in the literal truth of the Bible, to dependence on wind, water and brute strength for means of power and locomotion. But by the middle eighteen-fifties cotton and coal were becoming more potent than aristocratic blood, urban commercialism was rampant, while the State cautiously began to take on responsibilities previously left to individuals; railways, the electric telegraph and anaesthetics were in use, and the higher criticism of the Bible was coming in, along with religious scepticism and tentative notions about evolution soon to be crystallised in Darwin's famous book. Linked with these new trends and factors, and partly a consequence of some of them, there developed a public interest in science.

Among the causes of this interest were the writings of Bentham, Wyse, Combe, Whewell and de Morgan deplored the lack of scientific education and suggesting innovations, and the growth of such bodies as the Royal Institution (founded 1799) preaching "the gospel of science", the British Association for the Advancement of Science (founded 1831) focusing the aspirations of cultivators of science, and the Society of Arts (founded in 1754) striving to establish examinations in science. On a more popular level the Mechanics' Institutes and the publication of cheap books about science were helping to spread knowledge of its potentialities, while the utilitarian outlook, the economic boom and the fact that science was raising the material standard of living all increased national awareness of this amazing new force. An expression of the regard for science—and a powerful

impetus in its spread—was the Great Exhibition of 1851, which brought home to millions, for the first time, the wonders of science, but which also caused some to reflect that if England was to maintain its leading position more attention must be paid to scientific and technological studies—a vital point most convincingly made by Lyon Playfair.

These pressures, interests and anxieties, reaching a climax, led in the eighteen-fifties to the creation of a real basis for scientific education and advance. The Royal College of Chemistry was founded in 1845, the School of Mines in 1851; the Science and Art Department was set up in 1853 and began in 1859 examinations to encourage schoolteachers of science; the Honours School of Natural Science was established at Oxford in 1850 and the Natural Sciences Tripos at Cambridge in 1851; Owen's College, Manchester, opened in 1851 with useful provision for science; and London University, which had been teaching science since 1827, was powerful enough in 1860 to be the first to create a Faculty of Science and to confer the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Science.

This great scientific movement was also promoted by admiration and envy of German technical proficiency and by the Prince Consort, very knowledgeable and always enthusiastic for science. He patronised the notable series of lectures given at the Royal Institution in 1854 on the theme "the importance of scientific studies in an education intended for all classes of the people". Among the distinguished speakers were Whewell, who explained the need for training in the inductive sciences; Faraday, who argued for an education which strengthened the judgment, without, however, stifling the imagination; and Tyndall, who, seeing England "as a land which science, practically applied, had made great in peace and mighty in war", and asking if she had not "a right to expect from her institutions a culture more in accordance with her present needs than that supplied by declension and conjugation", tried to lift the national mind to the contemplation of science "as the last development of that 'increasing purpose' which runs through the ages and widens the thoughts of men". These lectures were published as *Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, and it was this book that Herbert Spencer dedicated "Intellectual, Moral and Physical (1)"

It was not surprising that Spencer should be given the book to review. His unconventional education, stressing things not words, had developed the habit of observing and investigating natural

objects and their causes and of seeking unifying principles. He had successfully taught in a school for three months, had been an engineer on the railways during their boom years and had made a number of inventions. He had published noteworthy articles on scientific, social and educational matters, and a book *Social Statics* (1850) with a chapter on "National Education" stating the case for private enterprise and against state direction, and had been sub-editor of *The Economist* from 1848 to 1853. And by 1859 he had enjoyed for some years the friendship of such creative people as George Eliot, G. H. Lewes and T. H. Huxley, and had crystallised his philosophy in the "development theory", similar to, though wider than, Darwin's theory of evolution. He was then a man, though deficient in some ways, in others singularly well qualified to speak about education and science.

Spencer had a capacity for lucid exposition and for illuminating his arguments (and engaging a reader's imagination) with apt and varied instances. Like a good teacher he begins his first essay, entitled "What Knowledge is of most worth?" (2), with some readily grasped examples, alleging that in human development decoration precedes dress and sterile display comes before productive attainments. This, he goes on, is notoriously true of education, where the ornamental so blots out the useful, where the classics usurp the place of science. Though Spencer here overlooked the fact that until the eighteenth century the classics were generally of vocational use, he was on the right lines, for the seminal developments in science in the eighteen-fifties (indicated earlier in this article) nearly all occurred outside the immensely influential ancient universities and public schools which still carried on unconcerned with their conventional business of Latin and Greek and little else. Spencer's leading thesis is, then, "that the teaching of classics should give place to the teaching of science", and he cries indignantly (3):

To think that after thousands of years of civilization, the prevailing belief should still be that while knowledge of his own nature, bodily and mental, and of the world physical and social in which he has to live, is of no moment to a man, it is of great moment that he should master the languages of two extinct peoples and become familiar with their legends, battles, and superstitions, as well as the achievements, mostly sanguinary, of their men, and the like.

He makes no attempt to consider the legitimate in favour of the classics but denounces them wholesale. They put "words before things", making "more of the forms and symbols than of the things

symbolized", although "words contained in books can be rightly interpreted into ideas, only in proportion to the antecedent experience of things"; they are merely ornamental, "throughout his after-career, a boy, in nine cases out of ten, applies his Latin and Greek to no practical purposes"; they are a frippery for idle show, and, inert beneath outworn customs, they "neglect the plant for the sake of some trifling flower".

Much of this had been said before, though not with such force and persuasiveness. The *Edinburgh Review* had periodically assailed the classical curriculum, Babbage and Brewster through various writings and activities had asserted how appalling was the under-rating of science (4), and T. H. Huxley had pointed to the rampant quackery and misery caused by

the utter ignorance as to the simplest laws of their own animal life, which prevail among even the most highly educated persons in this country (5),

and, with less rhetoric, had demonstrated the educational value of biology. Spencer was not, then, altogether a pioneer. Compayré, the eminent Frenchman who wrote a notable series of monographs on the great educators, including one on Spencer, assessing shrewdly his virtues and shortcomings, concludes (6):

Spencer is a clever stage manager. Thanks to an amazing gift of expression, he clothes the ideas of others magnificently; but as to education it is possibly just to say that the book contains very few really new ideas . . . yet he develops them broadly and forcibly and gives them a personal accent, the full warmth of his philosophic faith, a spirit of liberty.

Though Spencer denied that he was materially influenced by earlier writers, Compayré says (6):

The whole book is full of the inspiration of Rousseau; despite the fact that he is never mentioned in it . . . many pages are little but a full and clear exposition of themes borrowed from *Emile*.

Moreover, links between Spencer and Bentham and Combe have been indicated recently (7); H. G. Good has remarked on possible points of resemblance between Spencer and Joseph Priestley in their notions about education (8); and N. T. Walker (9) has argued convincingly that Thomas Wyse, Pestalozzi and Claude Marcel (10), "were Spencer's principal authorities for his educational views". Nevertheless, in addition to his memorable re-statements of the case for science, Spencer gave unique and important emphases to several aspects of this case and of the case against the classics.

Among these was his firm belief in the need for training in the understanding of causality. Spencer says (11):

The implications of phenomena were always more interesting to me than the phenomena themselves. What did they prove? was the question instinctively put. The consciousness of causation, to which there was a natural proclivity, and which had been fostered by my father, continually prompted analyses, which of course led me below the surface and made fundamental principles objects of greater attention than the various illustrations of them.

To promote understanding of cause and effect, of the principles involved in material phenomena science is much more effective than the classics, Spencer affirmed and showed deep awareness of the needs of his time in his insistence on the necessity for this understanding. Clearly, the observation of natural phenomena, the collection and classification of material, analysis and experimentation in the laboratory, the postulating of theories and the subsequent scrutiny and testing of them—the scientific method gives unique scope for older school-pupils to develop their judgment through activity, by using their limbs and senses along with their brains. Well does Spencer say (12):

The education of the senses neglected, all after education partakes of a drowsiness. . . .

Nothing requires more to be insisted on than that vivid and complete impressions are all-essential. . . .

Success in life depends upon the accuracy and completeness with which observations and inferences are made.

Observations and inferences, however, must also be made, as exactly as possible, about such non-material phenomena as the thoughts and passions of men and women—great, ignoble or ordinary—and in this field the studies that Spencer slighted, the humanities, are vital. Moreover, the student of science must have facilities to make his own observations and to test theories and should not be forced to learn by rote a string of scientific facts—a sterile method often used in the teaching of science in Spencer's day, as the classicists and others were naturally not slow to point out. R. H. Quick, though very promptly discerning Spencer's importance, says (13):

The processes of science, which form the staple of education in Mr Spencer's system cannot be grasped by the intellect of a child. "The scientific discoverer does the work, and when it is done the schoolboy is called in to witness the result, to learn its chief features by heart, and to repeat when called upon, just as he is called on to name the mothers of the patriarchs, or to give an account of the Eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great" (14).

Connected with this view that the classics "encourage submissive receptivity" while science encourages "independent activity" are Spencer's desire for "non-coercive education", his constant linking of the classics with outworn, despotic ways of life and thought, and his equally constant linking of science with unrestricted, progressive enterprise, with individualistic rebellion against bloated dogma and authority (15). This treatment, no doubt, appealed to the Nonconformist middle classes who made up an important part of Spencer's audience, and it also reflected his attitude to the political alignments which underlay the classics versus science controversy, since the classics were, generally, still favoured by the supporters of the Established Church, the landed aristocracy, the Conservatives and Protectionists; while science was advocated mainly by the urban industrial and commercial classes, fervent for Free-Trade and laissez-faire, and forming the bulk of the rising Liberal Party. Spencer was probably correct in his contrast between the smug, dogmatic presentation of the classics and the freer, searching, sceptical approach of science, but he overstated in saying:

Science makes constant appeal to individual reason. Its truths are not accepted on authority alone; but all are at liberty to test them—nay, in many cases, the pupil is required to think out his own conclusions (16).

This is true only on the impossible condition that all have vast knowledge and access to expensive equipment; in fact, only the expert can test all the truths in his particular specialism, and even advanced pupils must inevitably accept much on the blank assertion of authority. In contrast, the "truths" about human nature presented by the humanities (valuable, though not arrived at scientifically) can be tested by all in the course of daily personal relationships.

Nevertheless Spencer is enlightened in discerning how strong and insidious is the temptation in teaching to domineer:

We are none of us content with quietly unfolding our own individualities to the full in all directions; but have a restless craving to impress our individualities upon others, and in some way subordinate them (17).

Wise too is his awareness of the need for standards, queries about which, if raised at all,

are disposed of quite summarily, according to personal predilections. . . . Men read books on this topic, and attend lectures on that; decide that their children shall be instructed in these branches of knowledge, and shall not be instructed in those; and all under the guidance of mere custom, or liking or prejudice; without ever considering the enormous importance of determining in some rational way what things are really most worth learning (18).

The relative values of knowledges must be determined, he very sensibly declares, and goes on to describe his aim in education—to prepare for complete living—and the five leading kinds of activity which constitute human life. They may be naturally arranged into:

1. those activities which directly minister to self-preservation;
2. those activities which, by securing the necessities of life, indirectly minister to self-preservation;
3. those activities which have for their end the rearing and discipline of offspring;
4. those activities which are involved in the maintenance of proper social and political relations;
5. those miscellaneous activities which fill up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings (19).

These five kinds of activity are interconnected, and the best education is that which gives the greatest degree of preparation in all kinds according to their relative worth.

This framework and the ensuing arguments appear respectable and systematic, but certain flaws and undue simplifications can be perceived. Education should be concerned not so much with preparing for a hypothetical future as with meeting the child's needs at each stage in his development. And the extent to which school or college education can promote the five kinds of activity is by no means in accordance with their relative importance; the fourth could be promoted more effectively than the third. Then Spencer attributes moral qualities to Nature, almost deifies it. (Huxley goes astray similarly in his image of the game of chess which we must all play with the "calm, strong angel who is always fair and just" (20).) The truth is that Nature is not always a strict accountant, nor is its economy inevitably just and beautiful. We may play the game according to the rules, but our rewards are not invariably commensurate with our efforts; Nature quite ignores motives and punishes alike wilful disobedience and innocent transgression of its laws. Hardly more valid is Spencer's belief that knowledge about certain functions is necessarily helpful. A driver, while backing a lorry of restive cattle up a narrow opening, is more likely to be successful if he is unaware of the complex physical, mental, emotional, mechanical and chemical forces at work in him, in his lorry and in his load. What alone matters is the skill acquired in the course of much driving of lorries. This, of course, overlooks the value to the lorry-driver, as a man, of wider knowledge, and represents a severely practical view-point, but this is the position from which Spencer is arguing here (21). In other places, however, he commendably foreshadows Whitehead in his

disdain for discrete information. Spencer habitually sought knowledge, not to hoard it inert, but to discover what it meant, to make generalisations. "He taught me", says Mrs Webb, "to discern the relevance of facts."

Regarding the first of his five kinds, "activities which directly minister to self-preservation", Spencer acknowledges that neither science nor school study can help much. Here Nature herself is constantly at work, prompting us to safeguard our lives; and the main function of the educator is to see that ignorance or prejudice do not hamper her;

that there shall be no such thwarting of Nature as that by which stupid schoolmistresses commonly prevent the girls in their charge from the spontaneous physical activities they would indulge in; and so render them comparatively incapable of taking care of themselves in circumstances of peril (22).

Spencer, himself a valetudinarian, gives a harrowing sketch of the ills ensuing from ignorance of physiology: "acute disorder, chronic ailment, general debility, premature decrepitude . . . heart-disease . . . eyes spoiled for life . . . long enduring lameness . . . palpitation from an overtaxed brain" (22). Undoubtedly, general knowledge of physiology and hygiene should be imparted to most people, Spencer declares, echoing Combe's view (23). He is probably right, though there is no field in which a little learning can be so dangerous a thing. Yet he shows an awareness that it is not so much lack of knowledge but lack of means or will-power to behave properly that leads some to misuse their bodies:

We do not contend that possession of some knowledge [of physiology] would by any means wholly remedy the evil. It is clear that in our present phase of civilization men's necessities often compel them to transgress. And it is further clear that, even in the absence of such compulsion, their inclinations would frequently lead them, in spite of their convictions, to sacrifice future good to present gratification (24).

The "ordained agencies for teaching, mumbling little else but dead formulas", were failing to promote knowledge ministering indirectly to self-preservation. Yet on such knowledge depends "the right performance of those processes by which civilized life is made possible" (24), Spencer asserts, strikingly anticipating the clamour following the Russian sputnik of 1957, "the ability of a nation to hold its own against other nations, depends on the skilled activity of its units . . . on mechanical knowledge may turn the national fate" (24). Spencer provides vivid examples of the everyday uses of science and

correlates success in business with proficiency in science. This is engaging and partly valid, but is not worked out in terms of school life. Basically, the education which Spencer outlines as being essential for this second kind of leading activity is a vocational education. He—and many others—felt that the study of the various sciences he outlined would fit a youth for the business of life much more satisfactorily than any amount of study of Greek, Latin or history. And, clearly, a respectable case could have been made out for the teaching of science as a main subject to a substantial minority of pupils and as a subsidiary subject to most of the rest. But this Spencer did not do. Scorning compromise he sought supremacy for science, a worthy aim, maybe, but hardly for the reasons advanced—that training in science is essential for gaining a livelihood. It is obvious that most people earn their living without making use of any scientific knowledge they possess, though many of them are doing work based on scientific principles; these they do not understand (25). When scientific problems arise, the specialist is called in. For him training in science is essential, but for the future lawyer, civil servant or housewife other studies are more important. Moreover, it is axiomatic, as the Crowther report has recently affirmed, that the present needs of pupils must have priority and that the requirements of possible future occupations should not mould the curriculum, since the variety of occupations is so wide, and since most pupils do not discover which they prefer until late in their course. With regard to usefulness in earning a living Spencer's curriculum was not much better than the one he was attacking. It would have had the effect of preparing pupils for scientific occupations only (which most would not follow) just as—so the scientists alleged—a classical education prepared pupils for a scholastic or clerical career only (which most would not follow). Compayré says (26):

Spencer who introduced himself as a somewhat ambitious apostle of universality in scientific instruction, at the end of his discussion turns out to be a rather ordinary advocate of professional education.

(To be concluded)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- i. First published 1861. "The four chapters of which this work consists originally appeared as four Review-articles: the first in the *Westminster Review* for July 1859; the second in the *North British Review* for May 1854; the remaining two in the *British Quarterly Review* for April 1858 and for April 1859": Spencer Preface.
F. A. Cavenagh's edition, *Herbert Spencer on Education* (Cambridge University Press, 1932) is used here and cited as *Spencer (Cavenagh)*.

2. It was written last. Here the essays will be treated as four parts of one whole, since Spencer says in his Preface they were originally written with a view to their republication in a united form, and they constitute "a tolerably complete whole".
3. *Spencer (Cavenagh)*, p. 207.
4. For particulars see Cardwell, D. S. L., *The Organisation of Science in England* (Heinemann, London, 1957), pp. 46-49 and 60-61, and Ashby, Sir Eric, *Technology and the Academics* (Macmillan, London, 1958), p. 17.
5. Huxley, T. H., *Science and Education* (Macmillan, London, 1893), p. 61.
6. Compayré, Gabriel, *Herbert Spencer and Scientific Education* (Harrap, London, 1908), pp. 108 and ix; cited hereafter as *Compayré*. (Original French edition, Paris, 1901.)
7. Price, A., "A Pioneer of Scientific Education, George Combe (1788-1858)", *Ed. Rev.*, XII (1960), pp. 219-29.
8. *J. Ed. Res.*, XIII, May 1926.
9. *J. Ed. Res.*, XII, November 1930.
10. "It seems likely that the influence of Marcel, himself a disciple of Rousseau, accounts for the similarity between many of Spencer's ideas and those of the *Émile*, which Spencer had never read." Walker, art. cit.
11. *Autobiography*, I, 335, quoted by J. A. Lauwers, "Herbert Spencer and the Scientific Movement" in A. V. Judges, *Pioneers of English Education* (Faber and Faber, London, 1952) p. 171.
12. *Spencer (Cavenagh)*, pp. 68, 69, 90.
13. Quick, R. H., *Essays on Educational Reformers* (Longman, London, 1868), p. 231; "Quick's justly famous book", Lauwers calls it, Lauwers, art. cit., p. 161.
14. Quick is himself quoting *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8th Feb. 1867. Cavenagh mentions a letter from Augustus de Morgan censuring the book-physiology prescribed for London University examinations, for requiring little more from students than the accumulation of information about things and processes they had never examined at first hand; *Spencer (Cavenagh)*, p. 209.
15. *Spencer (Cavenagh)*, pp. 61-64.
16. *ibid.*, p. 55.
17. *ibid.*, p. 6.
18. *ibid.*, p. 7.
19. *ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
20. Huxley, op. cit., pp. 81-83.
21. Huxley, complaining about the overcrowded syllabus of medical education, makes the same point: "a knowledge of drugs is the business of the druggist . . . and it is absurd to require of the medical man that he should not avail himself of the special knowledge of those whose business it is to deal in the drugs which he uses. It is all very well that the physician should know that castor oil comes from a plant, and castoreum from an animal, and how they are to be prepared; but for the practical purposes of his profession that knowledge is not of one whit more value, has no more relevancy, than the knowledge of how the steel of his scalpel is made." Huxley, op. cit., p. 248.

22. *Spencer (Cavenagh)*, pp. 16-18.
23. See Alan Price, art. cit., p. 222. Spencer reviewed *A Treatise on the Physiological and Moral Management of Infancy* (Edinburgh, 1847), by Andrew Combe—George Combe's brother.
24. *Spencer (Cavenagh)*, pp. 19, 21 and 23.
25. Quick says (op. cit., p. 236): "the knowledge of the science which underlies an operation confers no practical ability whatever. No one sees the better for understanding the structure of the eye and the undulatory theory of light. . . . Spencer gives instances where science would prevent very expensive blundering; but the true inference is, not that the blunderers should learn science, but that they should mind their own business, and take the opinion of scientific men about theirs." Cavenagh too says (op. cit., p. xxiv), "nobody questions the use to the human race of sciences, but under our modern conditions of divided labour it is possible to live with little or no direct knowledge of them."
26. op. cit., p. 50.

LIBRARY-CENTRED ENGLISH: AN EXPERIMENT (I)

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OUTLINE OF THE EXPERIMENT

THIS study was an attempt to assess the progress made in certain aspects of English by groups of secondary modern school children who did all their English work in the school library. These were the problems which the investigation attempted to solve:

1. Do children doing the reading and written work of library-centred English maintain at least the same rate of progress, in measurable aspects of English attainment, as children taught by traditional methods?
2. Do children doing library-centred work show greater progress in any aspects of English than children doing conventional classroom English?

This was the hypothesis:

"There is no difference in the progress made in English by groups doing conventional classroom English and by groups doing library-centred English."

The experiment took place in a three-form entry non-selective secondary mixed school (2) in the West District of Birmingham. All the boys and girls in the second year were given, at the beginning of February 1960, seven English Attainment tests, which were repeated at the conclusion of the experiment in December 1960, by which time the children were in the third year. At the start of the investigation each class (3) was divided at random into two groups, a control group and an experimental group, by taking alternate names down the class registers. Throughout the period from February to December 1960 control groups were taught English solely with traditional classroom methods, while the experimental groups were taught English solely with library-centred methods.

The progress made by each of the 116 children taking part in

the experiment was assessed by comparing his performances in the initial and final tests. For each test the mean gain of all the children in the experimental groups was compared with the mean gain of all the children in the control groups. Tests of significance were applied.

PRINCIPLES OF LIBRARY-CENTRED ENGLISH

Briefly the theoretical basis of the library-centred English work attempted with the experimental groups was that children would read all the better if they did plenty of reading, and would write better if they did plenty of writing; and that their written composition work would improve all the more through being closely linked with the reading that they did. Blishen (4) wrote this about the type of English work suitable for children in a secondary modern school in a bad district of London.

It seems to me that the worst and unkindest thing we can do with children so situated is to give them a conventional diet of formal exercises. What most of them are suffering from is not a special inability to spell, an absence of instruction about commas and full stops, an innate difficulty in recognising a noun or a verb. Their malady is simply verbal starvation.

To begin with the formal exercise is like giving a starving man a lecture on calories. Lots of writing, lots of reading . . . with the two activities very closely linked. Unless the reading habit is got eagerly and naturally under way there is going to be no writing worth talking about.

This comment is important because it describes the type of English work that was done by the experimental groups—copious reading and copious writing, with the two activities closely linked. It is suggested that children falter in composition work through lack of words to express their ideas. In library-centred English an attempt is made to supply these words through a significant increase in the amount of reading that the children do.

If children lack words to express their ideas, the ideas themselves are also often wanting. Gurrey (5) asserted that children write better when they are writing of something with which they are familiar. Compositions confined within the limits of the children's own immediate experience would be lacking in range, but this range can be considerably widened if experience through reading is also included in their writing activities. This same need has been felt in America at college level. Robinson (6) reported on the basis of several years of experience with the read-write method of teaching composition, with thousands of students, that a group of well-qualified teachers believed the method to have genuine merit. "The

method could be said to provide sound motivation of writing and speaking activities by having students first read as much as they needed. Then, as a consequence, the students could more rationally communicate their ideas to others, because they had something to say and they wanted to say it. The terrible, pencil-chewing period of 'What shall I write about?' was eliminated."

In addition studies such as those of Russell (7), and of Morrison and Perry (8), suggest a relationship between reading and spelling. If there is such a relationship between ability to read and ability to spell, it is suggested that the extensive reading of library-centred English work might bring about a significant improvement in spelling, as well as in the ability to use and understand words.

The library-centred English gave the teachers of the experimental groups chance to encourage, in a vigorous and purposeful manner, a massive increase in the amount of reading done by these children. Children were given, regularly, the chance to read books at home. Much reading was done for pleasure, but the reading activities were too important to be done on a casual basis, and so much of the reading was made purposeful by being linked with written work.

Written composition work, in the wide sense of work written by children in words of their own, was the other essential feature of work of this type. All such written work was linked with library-book reading. No other English work was done by the experimental groups throughout the period of the experiment.

The Mad Hatter suggested, "Reeling and writhing to begin with." This experiment was an attempt to discover what happened to the English abilities of children who did reading and writing all the time.

PRINCIPLES OF CLASSROOM ENGLISH

What was the theoretical basis of the traditional classroom English as taught to the control groups? Most important of all, conventional classroom English is not seen as a whole subject, but as a number of separate parts which together are presumed to make the whole. In teaching English in this way the great need is held to be the desire to do justice to each of the separate parts, so that all the different aspects of basic work, language work and literature need to be included in the teaching programme. In this way it is hoped that there will be a cumulative effect, so that as improvement is shown in each separate aspect, so there will be a corresponding

improvement in the general English attainment of the child, particularly as reflected in his composition work.

In classroom English work attention has to be given to reading, writing, spelling and speaking, as the basic essentials. Of these the first and the third were of particular importance in this study. In language work, if written composition is accepted as the most important aspect, due time must also be given to those mechanical and expressional elements of formal English through which improvement in written expression is presumed to come. Through vocabulary exercises the child improves his ability to use words in composition work. Through sentence structure exercises—or through formal analysis, if this method is used—the child becomes better able to express his ideas in sentence form in composition. Through the punctuation teaching he receives and through the punctuation exercises he does the child becomes better able to punctuate his written work.

In composition work practice is given in narrative and descriptive writing. The class is taught how to arrange ideas in paragraphs, and how to set down those ideas in well constructed and logically arranged sentences. Each composition is carefully planned and prepared with the class, so that all pupils have a clear idea of what is required of them, and their work is all the better since they are all working on the same carefully-prepared subject.

Comprehension exercises are done regularly, since they test a child's ability to understand what he reads, and to express that understanding clearly in sentences. Literature, too, must not be neglected, and time is allowed for poetry, drama and the class reading of a set book.

Through attention to all these different elements of English, improvement in general attainment is assumed to come.

It is suggested that if, in traditional classroom practice, the subject is seen as a number of different parts, the opposite is true of the class itself, for the class is taught as a complete unit and not as a certain number of individual children. All the members of the class will be reading the same set book, doing the same exercise, writing the same composition or learning the same spelling list, with all the consequent advantages for the teacher as regards ease of preparation and of presentation.

Finally, as a consequence both of the type of work done and of the way in which the class is taught as a complete unit, sets of books are used in all aspects of English work.

It was necessary therefore to allow time for these aspects of English in the work with the control groups.

Composition and Comprehension. Apart from the exclusion of composition work linked with reading, no limit was set on the type of composition work to be done. In order to cover all the separate aspects of English however it was not possible to attempt written composition more than once a fortnight. Especially in 2/3C and 2/3D time was allowed for oral composition. Written comprehension exercises, based on passages from comprehension course books, were regarded as important, since they might help to improve reading, through the intensive study of short passages, and sentence structure through the need to express answers clearly and concisely in correctly constructed sentences.

Punctuation exercises were set from course books. This aspect of English was important, since it gave children in control groups training in preparation for Test 4, Capital Letters and Punctuation, while no such training was received by experimental groups.

Sentence structure. No attempt was made to teach children simple analysis into subject and predicate, or more detailed analysis into clauses. Frequent exercises were done in joining simple sentences together, using a variety of methods—conjunctions, relative pronouns, phrases in apposition and past and present participial phrases. This aspect of the work was important, since it gave children in the control groups training that might help them in Test 6, Sentence Structure. Besides it was important to discover whether practice of this sort encouraged improvement in sentence construction in the composition test.

Vocabulary exercises. No attempt was made to study word meaning in relation to reading materials, other than in comprehension exercises. Exercises were done, from course books, which involved choosing the right words to fill in blank spaces in order to bring out the correct meaning. Again it was felt that this was a type of exercise which might influence children's performances in Test 5, Vocabulary.

Literature. Each of the control groups read a set book each term. Children were allowed to do such private reading of these books as was compatible with regarding the work as a class activity. Normally the book was read aloud by the teacher and by members of the group during literature periods. The books were used as a basis for class discussion, but no written work was based on them. Poetry and drama were also studied as class activities by the control groups.

Reading. Different methods were used to practise reading in the control groups, depending upon the level of the class.

These methods were used to improve reading skill in 2/3A and 2/3B. Special attention was given to comprehension exercises, of a standard appropriate to the level of the class. Reading aloud was practised in the class reading of set books, while occasionally a period was spent on reading aloud from sets of extract readers such as those in the Golden Gateway series. In these ways about three periods a week were spent on reading, it being felt that no more than this could be spared for reading activities in these groups, if a satisfactory allocation of time were to be given to other aspects of English.

In the C and D groups there were children who were backward in reading, so it was necessary to have more frequent reading practice. Individual reading was outside the limits of work appropriate to control groups but it was decided that there should be regular group reading. Some time was also given to simpler comprehension passages; the children in these groups were not good enough at reading to make reading aloud desirable as a class activity.

Spelling. In all control groups attention was given to the teaching of spelling through lists of words and correction of errors. In the C and D groups about a period a week was spent on the teaching and testing of lists of words taken from Schonell's graded lists. In 2/3A and 2/3B an occasional period was used for teaching and testing spelling lists either of words which present special difficulty, or of words commonly misspelt in composition work. In addition all spelling mistakes were marked, and children were expected to do regular spelling corrections.

In these ways it was hoped to provide a good, balanced programme of traditional English, which contrasted satisfactorily with the library-centred English of the experimental groups.

LIBRARY-CENTRED ENGLISH METHODS

In the experimental groups the greatest need was to encourage the children to read more. Much of the reading was done by the children at home; in the A group the children were given a week and in the other groups they were given two weeks, in which to read the books before attempting written work based on the books read. Children were thus provided with a motive for reading, since they knew that written work would follow, and with a stated time by which the reading had to be completed. This worked very well. In

the D group, where there was the greatest reluctance to read, special allowance was made by giving the children easier books to read, and, where necessary, a longer time in which to read them.

Fiction-based work

This pattern of work was found effective in basing written composition work on fiction books read by children in the experimental groups. Essentially the aim was to encourage the children to read fiction books and to set them written work about what they had read. At the very least the written work would act as an incentive to those children who would not otherwise bother to read at all; in addition it was felt that children's written work would improve as a result of the reading that they did.

The problem was how to set a class a single composition subject, when all members of the group had read different library books. The solution was to have each child read a book with a theme that was common to all the books. Here are some of the types of stories that were used in this way:

air stories	sea stories	mystery stories
family stories	school stories	children's gang stories
western stories	stories about friends	stories of other times
stories of other lands	hospital stories	newspaper stories
	stories by outstanding children's writers	

In this way, while each child was reading a different library book, there was a common element in the reading of the group, which provided the topic for composition work.

Sometimes the whole group would do a preliminary composition exercise, following the reading of a passage from a library book which typified the general theme of the current reading. For example, while the children were reading their choice of stories about good friends, class oral and written work followed the reading of a passage from *Kidnapped*, illustrating the friendship between Alan Breck and David Balfour.

For the teacher this "aid" stage offered an opportunity to ensure that the child understood, in general terms, what was to be expected of him in the written work based on his library book. For the child it meant that, instead of going directly to the substantial individual effort of written work based on his own reading, he was able to enjoy the transitional experience of this preliminary written work. Essentially individual effort was still required, since each child was

writing of his own experience, through writing of his own library book; but the problems inherent in the theme having been grasped through the preliminary work, a child was able to concentrate his efforts in the final composition work on the library book itself. This preliminary written exercise itself was regarded as essentially library work, since it was based on a passage from a library book, read to the group by the teacher.

The nature of the final composition work depended on the type of story being read. The work attempted included narrative compositions, character sketches, descriptions of places, the re-telling of incidents in play form or in diary form, book reviews, imaginative compositions, and the isolation of specific elements in the story, such as the mystery in a mystery story or an account of the journey in a story about a journey. A wide variety of composition work was possible because the children were never starting from scratch, but always from the library books they had read.

The Television Serial assignment was a successful example of the imaginative extension of basic narrative work, in which children were also asked to give close thought to the characters in the story. Children were asked to choose and read a fiction book with a theme suitable for using as the subject of a television serial. First an incident was chosen from the story and was written down as a narrative composition, special care being taken about a concise retelling of the story and about the accurate presentation of characters. Finally the incident was written as a television script, the children being encouraged to use the dialogue both to tell the story and, to some extent, to represent character. Reference work was encouraged during the preliminary stages to help the children to discover authentic facts about the backgrounds of their stories—accurate factual information about hospitals, newspapers, the wild west and so on. In one assignment of work, therefore, it was found possible to combine reference work, fiction reading and narrative, descriptive and play-writing composition work.

Non-fiction and reference work

Composition based on non-fiction and reference books was mainly of the continuous assignment type, with carefully selected topics which occupied children from two periods to two or more weeks. The aim was that the children should be doing individual reference work on different, specific aspects of a given topic, and that they should set down the information they discovered effectively

in their own words. In general terms this method of approach was found effective in assignment work. The assignment having been chosen, the group was given a clear outline of aims and intentions. The first approach to individual work was made through encyclopaedias. It was found that an encyclopaedia article would often provide a child with an outline, and so prevent irrelevancies in his final notes. He would then use non-fiction books to find more detailed information, which was recorded first in "telegraph English" notes. Finally the assignment was completed as these notes were re-written in composition form.

In work of this kind it was very important that children should write notes in their own words, and not merely copy from the book. They were taught a standard method of note-making, the method used being "telegraph English" notes. First the reference material was read. Then an outline plan was made of the main points about which more detailed information would be needed. This plan was flexible; it was an important stage, since such a plan would help the children give a balanced account of the essential parts of the information they were discovering and recording.

The child wrote a first version, following this plan, using telegraph notes: instead of copying sentences word for word from his reference book he had to express the essential facts in short phrases separated by dashes. The danger of this method was that the child might become lost in masses of details—and here, again, a plan was important. The better to achieve balance and coherence in these notes, children were told to make marginal headings and sub-headings for all important sections and sub-sections of the notes.

The advantage of this method was that the child had to make a final effort of composition in re-writing the phrase-facts in sentences. He was not prevented from consulting reference books when writing out the final version, in order to check the facts—indeed he was encouraged to do so. He was, however, discouraged from copying out word for word from the book at this or at any other stage.

One other method was used to prevent copying from the book. In many assignments the factual information discovered had to be re-presented in an imaginative way. In a biographical assignment the final composition work was written in the first person, so that a child writing of Louis Pasteur did so as though telling his own life story. Famous historical incidents were set out in dramatic form, following the pattern of the television series, "You were there". Social history was written in the present tense, in the form of newspaper and

magazine articles, dated at the time being written about. Facts about other countries were set down in letters from imaginary pen friends. Using such methods as these it was impossible for the child to copy from the book, because he had to change the form of the information discovered; and perhaps he was better able to remember the facts he had discovered through the effort of imagination he had to make in setting them down.

DETAILS OF TESTS USED

Schonell's English Attainment tests (9) were used in the initial and final testing.

1. Graded Reading Vocabulary test for ages 5 to 15.
2. Graded Word Spelling test.
3. English Usage.
4. Capital letters and Punctuation.
5. Vocabulary.
6. Sentence Structure.
7. Composition, Home.

Tests 1, 2 and 7 were used to assess what progress was made by children doing library-centred studies in reading, spelling and written composition, where they might be expected to do well. Tests 3, 4, 5 and 6 were used to assess their progress in those aspects of formal English in which they received no teaching at all during the period of the experiment, and so they might not be expected to maintain the same progress as children in the control groups.

In all tests except the composition test, Schonell's instructions (10) for marking were closely followed. As the compositions were marked differently, here are some notes about the methods used.

Schonell suggests that the compositions should be marked by "general impression, guided by the schedule", though insisting on the need to preserve "uniformity and objectivity". It was decided that any method which involved subjective judgment would not be a sufficiently reliable assessment, and so these quantitative methods were used instead:

1. Word count.
2. Sentence score.
3. Prepositional phrases count.

Word Count

Counts were taken of the numbers of words in the initial and final compositions. $\frac{1}{10}$ of a mark was awarded for each extra word

in the final version; this score was then rounded to the nearest whole number to give the gain. When assessing a composition in this way the assumption is that the more a child writes the better a composition is. This method does not take into consideration either the quality or the relevance of what a child writes. As the subject of the composition was "Home", however, it was found that most of what children wrote was relevant: whatever else they can or cannot write about they all have something to say about home.

Sentence score

This was the method used for measuring the quality of sentence construction in the composition.

(a) 3 marks were awarded for each correctly constructed sentence. In addition marks were awarded for parts of sentences correctly constructed, according to the following scheme, based on Schonell's marking schedule for the Sentence Structure attainment test.

(b) 1 mark for each simple joining method, e.g. using "and", "or", "but", "also". If the word "and" is used more than once in a sentence it scores only 1 mark.

(c) 2 marks for less common conjunctions and for relative pronouns and past or present participial phrases.

These marks in (b) and (c) were awarded for parts of sentences correctly constructed, whether they were part of correctly constructed sentences or not. Thus an adjectival clause in an incorrectly constructed sentence would score 2 marks; an adjectival clause in a complex sentence would score 2 marks, but there would be an additional 3 marks for the whole sentence, of which it was a correctly linked part.

Prepositional phrases count

Finally an attempt was made to measure the number of ideas in a composition. The method used was a count of prepositional phrases; this is a method used to measure density of ideas in reading matter, in readability formulae. Chall (11) wrote:

"Indirectly idea density has been estimated by the relative number of prepositional phrases. In general, materials with a greater number of prepositional phrases have a higher ideational content and a more complicated style."

There are obvious limitations to this method of assessing the content of a composition, since it measures neither the quality nor

the arrangement of ideas. Since, however, prepositional phrases are the extensions of simple statements, and since it is through such extensions of thought that ideas are expressed, a count of prepositional phrases seems a simple, effective and valid method of measuring idea density in compositions.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Table I gives a summary of the gains made by experimental groups and by control groups in this investigation. Where t is less than 1.96 there is no significant difference in the mean gain of the experimental groups and that of the control groups. In those tests where t is greater than 1.96 the difference is significant at the 5% level.

By comparing column 4 with column 5 it will be seen that in nearly all aspects of English the experimental groups, doing library-centred English, made rather greater, though not necessarily significantly greater progress than the control groups. In one test only, Capital letters and Punctuation, the control groups made greater progress. In one test, Vocabulary, the progress made by the experimental groups and the control groups was virtually the same. In all the other assessments the experimental groups made greater progress, while in three tests—Reading, Spelling and Composition (Sentences score)—the experimental groups made significantly greater gains.

As a result of this study these conclusions are suggested about the likely progress in English of children who do library-centred English:

1. Even though they do no exercise work in English usage, vocabulary or sentence structure children can be expected to maintain at least the same progress as if time were spent on such exercises.
2. In punctuation some teaching of basic facts may be necessary, though there was no evidence in this investigation to suggest punctuation exercises will encourage significantly greater accuracy in punctuation than will extensive reading.
3. It is likely that there will be a marked improvement in reading skill, which will be greater than that achieved through conventional classroom methods—comprehension exercises, reading aloud, group reading and the class study of literature.
4. Even though no time is given to the learning and testing of spelling lists there will be a greater improvement in spelling, resulting

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TABLE I

Test	Mean gain of experimental groups	SUMMARY OF RESULTS			<i>t</i> score	level of significance
		Mean gain of control groups	Experimental groups greater by	Control groups greater by		
Graded word reading	6·	4·38	1·62	—	2·5634	5% (almost 1%)
Spelling	5·79	4·1	1·69	—	2·2114	5%
English usage	5·19	3·84	1·35	—	1·2165	—
Capital letters and punctuation	10·88	11·57	—	0·69	0·404	—
Vocabulary	5·38	5·24	0·14	—	—	—
Sentence structure	5	4·32	0·68	—	0·8187	—
Composition— word count	5·17	3·37	1·8	—	1·2833	—
Composition— sentences score	19·7	12	7·7	—	2·2089	5%
Composition— prepositional phrases	5·1	3·2	1·9	—	1·306	—

from the copious reading of library-centred work, than if time were spent on such lists.

5. Through the copious composition work linked with reading, which is an essential feature of library-centred English, it is likely that children will become better able to express themselves in sentences in composition work, than they would if time were spent on sentence-building exercises.

Much has been asserted about English teaching methods, but little has been tested experimentally. Teachers often assume, for example, that a child's general English performance will improve if he reads more. The results of the present investigation suggest that this article of faith can be shown to have some empirical basis.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is an abstract of a dissertation presented for the Certificate in School Librarianship of the University of Birmingham Institute of Education.
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CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH EMOTIONAL MALADJUSTMENT AMONG CHILDREN IN CARE*

by M. L. KELLMER PRINGLE and L. CLIFFORD

I. INTRODUCTION

In a previous study (Pringle and Bossio, 1960) it was found that early separation from the mother or mother-substitute and prolonged institutionalisation did not necessarily lead to emotional difficulties or character defects in children. The experience of a stable, dependable and long-term relationship with an adult in the outside world seemed to be of paramount importance in the achievement of emotional adjustment while living in residential care. Our evidence supported the view that the child who is rejected early and remains unwanted, is likely to become insecure and maladjusted; while the child who remains loved and cherished by adults important to him, maintains emotional stability even though he continues to be deprived of normal family life.

The study to be described here was undertaken to verify or disprove the hypothesis that among the most stable children in residential care, a significantly higher proportion would be found to have regular and frequent contact with parents or parent-substitutes than among those considered to be the most maladjusted.

Perhaps it should be mentioned that this study was carried out in a different part of the country from the earlier one. At the time when the field-work was being done, the results of the former had not yet been published and so could not have influenced the replies of those who co-operated.

* The authors are greatly indebted to Mr E. J. Holmes, M.A., B.Sc., the Children's Officer for Birmingham, for all his co-operation and encouragement during the planning stage of the investigation, as well as for his constructive comments on the paper itself. The work and time so willingly expended by Mr R. Griffin, B.Sc., also greatly facilitated this study. Grateful acknowledgments are due to Dr G. Burroughs and Dr P. Levy for advice on statistical procedures.

2. THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

The house mothers in a Local Authority Cottage Home, each of whom is responsible for a group of 8 to 14 children, were asked to complete a questionnaire which aimed at ascertaining whether or not a child had contact with adults outside the Home. The questionnaire was designed to give information on the frequency, regularity and nature of this contact. Only factual replies were required. A weighted score was then given to each possible answer; thus a child who received weekly letters and visits, and who spent week-ends away from the Home, would receive the maximum score possible (namely 18 points). The questionnaire, with the weightings written in above each category, is shown in the Appendix. The study was limited to those aged six to twelve years, and children who had been in care less than a year were excluded. This part of the investigation was concerned with 66 children.

Several weeks later, the house mothers were asked to rank the same children in their group from the most stable and adjusted to the most difficult problem child. To ensure that these terms would be interpreted by the eleven house mothers in as similar a way as possible (some guidance was given regarding the term "maladjustment"), it was suggested that most children show difficult, unacceptable behaviour occasionally and temporarily; that a child should be considered maladjusted only if his behaviour was difficult or deviant more or less consistently and over a considerable period of time; and that over-timidity and withdrawn behaviour may be as much a symptom of emotional disturbance as aggression and hostility. Of course, despite this precaution, such factors as personal incompatibility between some children and their house mothers, or their relative skill in handling them, were bound to influence not only the adult's judgments regarding the children's adjustment, but also the very way in which the children did in fact adjust. However, the seriousness of this difficulty was lessened to some extent, since only a rank order and not absolute judgments were obtained. In addition the house mothers' judgments were checked by the Superintendent of the Home.

The children from each house were then divided into three groups, the most maladjusted, those neither markedly stable nor maladjusted, and the most stable. As far as possible, the numbers in these groups were maintained in the ratio 1 to 2 to 1. The mean scores obtained on the "visits" questionnaire for these three groups

were 4.14, 5.00 and 7.07 respectively. (It will be remembered that a high score indicates regular and frequent contacts.) An analysis of variance showed that these means differed significantly at the 10% level; our figures correspond to a correlation coefficient eta (η) of 0.28. Considering the small numbers involved and the fact that a heterogeneous sample of house mothers were making the assessments of relative adjustments, these results can be taken as positive evidence in favour of the hypothesis that there exists a relationship between emotional adjustment and the regularity and frequency of contact a child is experiencing with adults in the outside world.

To corroborate further the reliability of the judgments made by the house mothers, and to gain some insight into some other aspects which might distinguish the stable from the maladjusted child in care, it was decided to study the 25 per cent most stable and the 25 per cent most maladjusted children (the criterion being the ranking made by the house mothers); each group comprised seventeen children, of which 21 were boys and 13 girls. The proportion of the sexes is very similar to that in the Cottage Home population of that age. However, there were twice as many boys in the maladjusted as compared with the stable group (Table I).

TABLE I
PROPORTION OF 6-12 YEAR OLD BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE HOME AND IN THE SELECTED GROUPS

	<i>In the Home</i>		<i>Selected groups</i>		<i>Stable</i>		<i>Maladjusted</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
B	39	59%	21	62%	7	41%	14	82%
G	27	41%	13	38%	10	59%	3	18%

To obtain some information on the children's background and to check the reliability of the answers given by the house mothers on the "visits" questionnaire, the case files kept for each child by the Children's Department were consulted. Regarding the latter point, a very close correspondence was found between these two sources of information (Table II). Of the two stable children with little or no contact with adults outside, one had a younger brother living in the same Home with whom she had a very close and warm relationship. The other child was described by the house mother as warm-hearted and spontaneous; she had always been very popular among children and adults and tended to "mother" those younger than herself.

TABLE II

FREQUENCY AND REGULARITY OF CONTACT WITH OUTSIDE ADULTS

		<i>Regular and frequent</i>	<i>Irregular and infrequent</i>	<i>Very little or no contact</i>
Stable N = 17	files*	12	1	2
Maladjusted N = 17	house mother	13	2	2
	files	2	3	12
	house mother	2	3	12

The personal and family background of the children was very similar. A majority in both groups had been separated from their mother for the first time before the age of two years, and had been in care for five years or more (Tables III and IV). Nearly half the children in each group were illegitimate, but the number of mothers in mental deficiency hospitals was rather larger in the maladjusted group (Table V). For the latter, the most frequent reason for coming into care was being abandoned or deserted, while for the stable children there was no single outstanding reason (Table VI).

TABLE III

AGE AT FIRST SEPARATION (in months)

	0-12	13-24	25-60	61 or more
Stable	5	4	2	6
Maladjusted	6	3	5	3

TABLE IV

TOTAL TIME IN CARE (in months)

	12-24	25-60	61 or more
Stable	1	4	12
Maladjusted	2	1	14

TABLE V

FAMILY BACKGROUND

	<i>Illegitimate</i>	<i>Father's status</i>			<i>Prison</i>
		<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	
Stable	7	2	5	8	2
Maladjusted	8	3	4	9	1
	<i>Unskilled</i>	<i>Mother's status</i>			<i>Mental deficiency hospital</i>
		<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Prison</i>		
Stable	3	11	2		1
Maladjusted	2	9	1		5

* For two of the stable children there was no information in the files regarding this point.

TABLE VI
MAIN REASONS FOR COMING INTO CARE*

	<i>Deserted or abandoned</i>	<i>Cruelty</i>	<i>Neglect</i>	<i>Unsuitable housing</i>	<i>Mother a mental defective</i>
Stable	4	2	6	5	1
Maladjusted	8	2	3	3	5

About a month after the house mothers had ranked all the children in order of adjustment, they were asked to complete the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides (Stott, 1958) for the seventeen most stable and the seventeen most maladjusted children. Perhaps it should be mentioned that not until all the field-work was completed was the purpose of the investigation and the method of selecting the children for further individual study discussed with any of the staff in the Home or in the Children's Department. The results obtained from the Guides show that this more objective assessment of emotional adjustment distinguished quite clearly the stable from the maladjusted group, thus fully supporting the more subjective ranking made by the house mothers earlier on (Table VII).

TABLE VII
BRISTOL SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT GUIDES

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Range</i>
Stable <i>N</i> = 17	14·0	1-38
Maladjusted <i>N</i> = 17	33·7	7-68

It will be remembered that a high score on the Guides denotes maladjustment. The section called "Relatives" on the Guides was also compared with the replies given by the house mothers to the "Visits Questionnaire". Almost complete correspondence was found, proving again the reliability of this information.

Each child in the stable and maladjusted groups was also interviewed individually to explore emotional attitudes and to obtain some indication of formal attainments. A simple interview schedule was devised to ensure that each child was asked the same questions in the same order. The questions were designed to elicit information on the children's spare time activities and interests; on their attitudes to school and their friendships; and on their personal ambitions and

* More than one reason was given for some children.

wishes. There were no different patterns of answers or specially noteworthy replies received from the two groups, with two exceptions which are described below. Firstly, regarding vocational ambition, more than half of the stable group chose jobs which can broadly be classified as "helping people", i.e. nursing, looking after children, being a house mother, etc.; none of the maladjusted group made such a choice, but more than half gave what might be termed childish stereotypes, i.e. becoming a cowboy, soldier or policeman; none of the stable but four of the maladjusted refused to commit themselves (Table VIII).

TABLE VIII
VOCATIONAL AMBITION

	<i>Childish stereotype</i>	<i>Same job as parent(s)</i>	<i>"Helping people"</i>	<i>Don't know</i>
Stable	6	1	10	—
Maladjusted	10	3	0	4

Secondly, when invited to give three wishes, the greatest number of wishes in both groups were for personal possessions such as toys, pets and sweets, but the total number of such wishes was higher in the maladjusted group. Thirteen of the stable children expressed the wish to live with one or both parents or with parent-substitutes, but only three maladjusted children gave voice to this desire. In each group the same number mentioned some future ambition, such as "to play football for Aston Villa", or "to be the boss of a big firm", or "to work on a farm". Four children, two in each group, were quite unable or unwilling to answer this question (Table IX).

TABLE IX
CHILDREN'S "THREE WISHES"

	<i>Possessions</i>	<i>Return home</i>	<i>Future ambition</i>
Stable	25	13	7
Maladjusted	35	3	7

A drawing of a man was also obtained from each child. There were unusual and rather bizarre features in seven drawings of the maladjusted group, but in only one of the stable group. Bizarre features included a huge nose in profile; a very elongated neck; a face with huge eyes and long lashes but no nose; and one drawing which consisted of very detailed and well executed eyes, nose and mouth to which, however, the child would add nothing else despite repeated instructions to draw the whole man.

TABLE XI
LEVEL OF LITERACY REACHED ON THE NEALE TEST

	<i>Comprehension</i>			<i>Accuracy</i>			<i>Speed</i>
	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Semi-literate</i>	<i>Literate</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Semi-literate</i>	<i>Literate</i>	
<i>Stable</i>	5	10	2	4	8	5	8
<i>Maladjusted</i>	11	4	2	9	6	2	7

The categories adopted for levels of literacy are those suggested by the Ministry of Education (1950), namely:

illiterate = reading age below 6 years 11 months

semi-literate = reading ages between 7-0 and 8 years 11 months

literate = reading age 9 years and above

Lastly, there was also a marked difference in the attitude of the two groups of children during the interview and towards the examiner. A friendly, relaxed manner, and a willingness to talk readily and spontaneously, characterised the behaviour of the majority in the stable group. Many of the maladjusted children, on the other hand, appeared to be rather tense and lacking in confidence, often confining their answers to a minimum and being unwilling to volunteer any observations. The information supplied by the house mothers on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guides also brings out the apparent inability of many of the maladjusted group to make easy relationships. Over-anxiety for approval on the one hand, and "unforthcomingness" on the other, figured quite prominently in the descriptions.

To assess achievements, the Vocabulary Test from the WISC (Wechsler 1949) and the Neale Reading Test (Neale 1958) were administered. The results show that whereas about half of the children in the maladjusted group score below average, more than two-thirds of the stable group received an average or above average scaled score (Table X).

TABLE X
WISC VOCABULARY TEST MEANS AND SCALED SCORES

	Mean	0-6 <i>below average</i>	7-13 <i>average</i>	14-20 <i>above average</i>
Stable	8.2	5	11	1
Maladjusted	6.9	9	8	—

There was one outstanding, qualitative difference between the two groups concerning the response given to the word "knife". A definition implying aggression or violence was given by seven of the maladjusted children, compared with only two of the stable group. For example, three of the maladjusted children said "you stick it into people", and two said "for killing".

In reading, the stable group is also superior in attainment. The pattern of differences is very similar for all the three aspects of reading which were tested, with more than twice as many maladjusted as stable children falling into the illiterate category (Table XI).

3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of this investigation confirm the hypothesis advanced previously that one of the conditions which distinguishes the stable

from the maladjusted child in care is the regularity and frequency of contact with parents or persons outside the Home. Where a dependable relationship exists with an adult outside the Children's Home, a child stands a significantly better chance of remaining emotionally adjusted despite being deprived of normal family life.

It may be asked whether a dependable relationship with a house mother or the Superintendent of a Home may not become a source of stability and security to a child. This question was not examined in this investigation. But theoretical considerations lead one to think that such a relationship may not be easily achieved: firstly, however well the staff look after a child, he is aware of the fact that in a residential establishment the people who care for him are paid to do so; secondly, the shortage and rate of turn-over of staff militate against the building up of a long-term relationship; thirdly, the child knows that he is different from those children who live with their own parents or whose family at least keep in touch with them, yet he does not, indeed cannot, understand why this should be so; thus it may well be that it is the child who has no dependable adult in the outside world (who cares for him for his own sake) who rejects whatever friendship and affection is offered to him by members of the Home staff.

It may well be that if unconditional loyalty and affection from an adult outside the Home is not experienced, a child can become eventually unable to develop these qualities in his human relationships. The child who failed to learn in early childhood the responses appropriate and expected in such a relationship, remains immature, like a very young infant who takes love for granted and demands unceasing devotion. Thus the emotionally deprived child tends to alienate and often to lose any affection and good will offered subsequently, because he seems selfish, greedy and ungrateful. This deprives him of the opportunity to learn the very skills needed in making close human relationships; instead he learns to mistrust affection when offered. And so the vicious circle develops of the unloved and friendless child, in turn becoming unloving and hostile towards others. In our study this tendency was reflected in the assessments made by the house mothers and by the reactions of the maladjusted children during the psychological interview.

There was little difference in the family background of the two groups, except that more maladjusted children came into care because they had been deserted or abandoned. This again supports the view that it is the element of definite parental rejection which

has the most adverse effect (Bowlby 1951, Bevan and Jones 1961). It is in the same group that the number of mentally defective mothers was greater, which may indicate a higher degree of inherent weakness among the maladjusted children.

During the psychological interview, three main differences emerged between the two groups. The first was in the children's general attitude to the situation and to the examiner. The second was in the choice of vocational ambition, which suggests that many of the stable children had made some identification with the various professional workers who were taking care of them. Thirdly, when asked to give three wishes, a high proportion of the stable group voiced the desire to be reunited with their family; the fact that only a few maladjusted children mentioned the same wish suggests that they were denying the reality of a loss that had become unbearable. A similar phenomenon was found among pre-school children living in a residential nursery, who rarely used the word "mummy" in comparison with children of the same age living with their own families (Pringle and Tanner 1958).

Lastly, with regard to achievements, the performance of the stable group was superior on both the vocabulary and the reading test which were administered. Again, similar findings were obtained in earlier studies (Pringle and Bossio, 1958 and 1960) supporting the view that emotion and learning are closely interlinked.

The main practical implication of our evidence lies in the need for preventive action. Recent work tends to show that many of the ill-effects of deprivation are preventable (Gray and Parr, 1957; Clarke and Clarke, 1960; Trasler, 1960). That rehabilitation and recovery can also take place even during late adolescence and adulthood has been convincingly demonstrated in recent years, notably by the work of Clarke and Clarke (1954, 1958 and 1959). But an early enrichment of experience—emotional, experiential and educational—seems preferable both from a humanitarian and an economic point of view. There is little doubt that the public care of children is still very inadequate despite the tremendous improvements which have taken place during the past twelve years and despite all the efforts of child care workers. As a community we are as yet unwilling to spend sufficient money not only on preventing the break-up of families but also on providing an adequate child care service. Perhaps the chief stumbling-block is the shortage of staff, especially house staff. Is it realistic to expect children to form close and dependable ties with house mothers when the national rate of

turn-over for such staff is about 30% annually? The shortage of really suitable people for this highly skilled and exacting work is also chronic. At present the duties are too arduous, the hours too long and the salary too low to attract a sufficient number of candidates even to existing training courses. It is beyond the scope of this paper to make detailed suggestions for preventive measures, but this has been done elsewhere (Pringle and Sutcliffe, 1960 and Pringle, 1961). Suffice it to say that the present shortcomings will be perpetuated until it becomes possible for child care staff to be selected in such a way that in each Children's Home an enriched environment can be provided to enable the children to recover from past deprivations and to have experiences which compensate for the lack of "normal" family life.

SUMMARY

Further evidence has been obtained to support the hypothesis that among the most stable children in care, a significantly higher proportion have regular and frequent contact with parents or parent-substitutes than those considered to be most maladjusted. A long-term, dependable relationship with an adult in the outside world seems to make an important contribution to the achievement of emotional stability of children placed in residential care. Some other differences between a stable and a maladjusted group of children were also explored in this study. The need is stressed for early preventive action and for provision of enriching experiences to compensate for some of the short-comings of residential life.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE—VISITS*

Name of child.....	Resident at.....
<i>Please underline what applies</i>	
1. Does the child receive cards, letters and parcels almost every week (6) / about once a month (4) / only birthdays and Christmas (2) / very rarely (1) / never (0)	
2. Is the child visited almost every week (6) / about once a month (4) / only at special oc- casions (2) / very rarely (1) / never (0)	
3. From whom does he receive mail and visits? members of his family / other relatives / friends	

* The scoring used is indicated in brackets after the appropriate items.

4. Does the child spend a holiday away from the Home
every week-end (6) / about once a month (6) / only at Christmas or
birthday (2) / only rarely (1) / never (0)
5. If he does have such holidays does he spend them
with different people each time / with his own family / with other
relatives.

Maximum score possible = 18 points.

Signed.....

Date

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A TEACHER'S PERCEPTION OF HIS PUPILS

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I. INTRODUCTION

ONE of the most important activities of a human being is the making of judgments about other human beings. For the majority of people, life in an industrial civilisation involves an increasing variety of human contacts. Social groupings, including the family itself, are no longer as stable as they were and people move rapidly from one to another, changing jobs or houses, joining clubs or societies, or simply travelling and meeting people. Every new meeting involves the making of judgments about other people —their physique, clothes, habits, attitudes, intelligence, personality.

As the early stages of industrialisation in Western Europe produced a need for the simple counting of heads (the first census in England was in 1801), recent stages have produced the need for more subtle judgments and classifications of people. The traditional criteria of birth and wealth are no longer sufficient and are being progressively replaced by classification according to intelligence, attainment, training and personality.

The effects of this change upon our educational system have been obvious. In particular, the institution of free secondary education in 1944 marked the formal renunciation, within the state system, of classification according to wealth. The debate still continues regarding what criteria we should use instead, for what purpose we should use them and whether, indeed, we should formally acknowledge the use of any criteria whatsoever.

However, when the activity of judging people is considered in a wider context, it is obvious that we all engage in it much of the time. From one point of view it is, of course, implicit in the way in which we use words and the meanings we attach to them, and it is apparent that teachers will continue to classify their pupils whether or not they segregate them into different schools and streams. The question is merely, "What criteria is it possible to use?"

It is not the intention of this article to discuss classification by objective measures of intelligence or attainment. The pros and cons of such methods have been amply canvassed during recent years. There are, however, many other aspects of personality which may be considered important if we are concerned to produce something more than a meritocracy. Most adults describe friends and acquaintances according to their interests and attitudes, their perseverance, sociability, sense of humour, self-confidence, and so on. In effect, they use these personality traits as criteria by which to classify and cross-classify. Teachers are similarly accustomed to use these wider aspects of personality when describing their pupils, although naturally they use more criteria of the kind which appear in comments on school reports.

The fact that such traits are so commonly used as means of describing and classifying both adults and children argues that, for practical everyday use, we find them of the greatest value. For this reason there have been many recent attempts to obtain objective measures of such traits and also, for example, of children's interests (1). The concern of this article, however, is not objective measures such as these, but the everyday subjective judgments of personality which teachers habitually and inevitably make of their pupils; and a comparison of these with the categories used by adults in describing each other.

2. THE PROBLEM

The problem may, of course, be formulated in several different ways. From one point of view it is a question of the categories which we use when judging other people. Do we use a multitude of categories, one for each trait name? Or do we effectively use only one or two "dimensions", with several traits closely related to each dimension? Or do we use one dimension only? It has frequently been asserted that the last explanation is substantially correct: that, for example, if a teacher has a favourable opinion of a pupil on one trait he tends, with or without justification, to have a favourable opinion of him on other traits. In this way we are said to obtain a "halo effect" in teachers' ratings of their pupils.

From another point of view, we may regard the problem as concerning the meanings of words such as "persistence", "co-operation", etc. In analysing the ways in which teachers use such words as these in practice, we are attempting to discover the "meanings" which they attach to them. Or again, we may say that we are

concerned with the ways in which teachers "perceive" their pupils. The particular terms into which we cast the problem are unimportant.

3. THE PROCEDURE USED

In order to study this problem a series of investigations was carried out, all using the same procedure, but with different groups of teachers.* After a review of the kinds of personality traits referred to by teachers when writing reports or speaking of their pupils, and after an examination of several record cards, twelve traits were chosen because they appear to be frequently used and of some importance. These are shown in the list below.

Emotional Stability	Sociability
Trustworthiness	Self-assertion
Persistence	Maturity
Co-operation with Teachers	Popularity
Cheerfulness	Confidence
Sense of humour	Spontaneity

For each trait two brief descriptions were drawn up, one for each end of the scale.

Each teacher co-operating in these investigations was given the list of traits and descriptions. For each of the twelve traits he was also given a list of pupils in his class, and asked to rate each pupil on a five-point scale provided opposite each name. All pupils were rated on the first trait before the teacher proceeded to the next trait, so there was no possibility of halo effect resulting from the fact that a child was given a particular rating merely because he had been given it on a previous trait.

It was assumed that it would be impossible to compare the ratings made by different teachers on the same trait, since there would be no means of comparing their average ratings. Therefore, each teacher was asked to take the average rating (i.e. rating 3) as the average for *his class*. Further, there was no way of knowing how any trait was distributed in a class; whether, for example, there was a large difference or a small difference between the most and least conscientious pupils. Therefore, each teacher was asked to distribute his ratings according to the normal distribution curve, and was provided with a model for this purpose. In effect, this was

* The writer wishes to thank the chief education officers and teachers who generously gave facilities for and co-operated in these investigations.

little more than a request to distinguish between different pupils rather than to give them all ratings close to the average.

In the first investigation the classes of pupils were all in single-sex schools, and fell into eight matched groups, each comprising four school classes. There were four groups of boys' classes: first-year grammar school boys, fourth-year grammar school boys, first-year secondary modern school boys, and fourth-year secondary modern school boys. Similarly there were four groups of girls' classes. All boys' classes were rated by men, all girls' classes by women teachers.

In the second investigation ratings were obtained for 14-year-old boys and girls in ten houses in a comprehensive school. In this case all ratings were made by house-masters, but boys and girls within each house were treated as separate groups. Further investigations were carried out in junior schools and other secondary schools and gave similar results, but will not be discussed here.

4. TREATMENT OF THE DATA

The object was to discover whether, when teachers make ratings on the twelve traits under consideration, they effectively use twelve separate traits, or a small number of dimensions, or one dimension only. The procedure, therefore, was first to obtain inter-correlations for all the ratings made by each teacher. The correlation matrices for teachers within each group were then combined. Thus, there was one matrix of inter-correlations for the teachers of first-year grammar school boys, one for the teachers of fourth-year grammar school boys, and so on. For the comprehensive school there was one matrix for the house-masters' ratings of boys, one for their ratings of girls.

We therefore had, from this series of investigations, ten sets of average inter-correlations between ratings on these personality traits, each set representing a different group of teachers and pupils. Each of these correlation matrices indicated the extent to which the teachers concerned had used traits as if they were identical. Practical difficulties made it impossible to compare the sets of inter-correlations by simple inspection. Therefore, a principal components analysis was obtained for each matrix (2). In effect, this provided a summary of each set of inter-correlations so that comparison of one set with another became possible.

The reader might well find it of interest to return at this point to an examination of the twelve personality traits and attempt to predict the result. Do teachers use twelve different traits or a

smaller number of dimensions? And if they use dimensions, how many do they use and what traits does each dimension include? It has been found that most teachers are ready to make a subjective analysis of these traits into dimensions which appear logically unexceptionable. However, there is little agreement between teachers regarding the number and the composition of these dimensions. There is still less agreement between such dimensions arrived at subjectively and the dimensions objectively defined in these investigations.

5. HALO EFFECT

For all ten analyses the results were very similar. Whether they were men or women, teaching boys or girls, first-year or fourth-year, in secondary modern, grammar or comprehensive schools, the secondary school teachers who co-operated in these studies tended to rate their pupils in the same way. The first two principal components obtained from each analysis were comparable and accounted for approximately three-fifths of all the variance. In other words, three-fifths of all the measures obtained (i.e. three-fifths of all the differences from the average ratings) could be accounted for in terms of two components. Moreover, nine of the traits were in two clusters, approximately at right angles one to the other, indicating that ratings were made along two independent dimensions. Those forming the first cluster were cheerfulness, sense of humour, sociability, self-assertion and spontaneity. The traits in the second cluster and forming the second dimension were emotional stability, trustworthiness, persistence, and co-operation with teachers. We may tentatively name these dimensions "extraversion" and "reliability and conscientiousness" respectively.

The first feature to be noted about these consistent results is that there is in most cases little or no halo effect; the teachers concerned used two dimensions, not one. As indicated above, various precautions were taken to avoid any spurious halo effect, and these appear to have been on the whole successful. However, the second difference between this series of studies and certain others (3) is probably to be found in the traits for which ratings were obtained. In general, teachers and education authorities are concerned with traits that lie on the dimension of reliability and conscientiousness. Consequently the extraversion traits have frequently been omitted from analyses of teachers' ratings of their pupils. If these are included, it is apparent that teachers tend to judge and classify their

pupils according to two main criteria. One criterion relates to success in school work and ability to get on well with school staff; it apparently represents the teacher's approval or disapproval of a pupil. The second criterion relates to the child's activity, particularly his social activity or extraversion.

For practical purposes one rating of sociability, for example, could be regarded as typifying the dimension of activity and extraversion. Similarly, one rating of persistence or co-operation with teachers could be used as representative of the dimension of reliability and conscientiousness. But it would be pointless to obtain one rating only of "personality", which purported to describe both dimensions. In the drawing up of record cards and for purposes of research it should be borne in mind that there are at least two independent dimensions along which teachers are in the habit of classifying their pupils. Or, to put the matter another way: to a teacher cheerfulness, sense of humour, sociability, self-assertion and spontaneity tend to have the same meaning; and emotional stability, trustworthiness, persistence and co-operation have much the same meaning; but these two meanings are, in general, independent one of the other.

6. COMMENTS ON THE DIMENSIONS

Certain observations may be made, however, concerning the nature and implications of these two dimensions. First, it should be noted that although both could be quite easily identified in all of the investigations mentioned, the dimension of reliability and conscientiousness was the more clearly marked. If we regard the dimension of activity and extraversion as typified by a "boy's boy", and the other dimension as typified by a "teacher's boy", the reason is not far to seek. Teachers know more about and can more easily define the latter.

It should also be noted that the two dimensions were not always entirely independent. In the investigations reviewed here there was some tendency for them to be slightly correlated, for example, in the case of the ratings made by women teachers in girls' schools. This indicates a slight halo effect in the ratings. In other words, the women teachers in girls' schools tended to regard the reliable and conscientious girl as being also rather sociable and extraverted. Further the two dimensions did not take up all the variance in the ratings and some two-fifths of the measures obtained had still to be accounted for. A proportion of this two-fifths could be described

in terms of several less important and less commonly used dimensions; for example there was in the boys' secondary modern schools a dimension related to the studious, academic boy—apparently a boy who in his teachers' opinion could well have been at a grammar school. Part of the remaining variance was accounted for by the fact that in some small degree each of the twelve traits was used independently. Finally, it is not suggested that all teachers are alike in the way in which they classify their pupils and give meanings to the words used to describe these traits. There must be considerable individual differences in the extent to which teachers make use of the dimensions that have been described. No attempt has yet been made to examine these.

7. MEANING AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Of the twelve traits used in this series of investigations, only nine have so far been accounted for in the discussion of results. The remaining three, namely confidence, popularity and maturity, are of special interest because they did not consistently find a place in either of the two dimensions described. Instead they lay between the dimensions, or sometimes in one, sometimes in the other; and their location was related to the social context in which the ratings were made. To put the matter another way, the kind of meaning that teachers gave to the words "confidence", "popularity" and "maturity" was dependent upon the sex, age and school type of their pupils.

This was typically the case with the trait of maturity. In all the grammar school groups this trait fell on the dimension of reliability and conscientiousness and could, in fact, be regarded as the most typical trait of this dimension. It fell in the same position for the two first-year secondary modern school groups. For the fourth-year secondary modern school girls it was between the two dimensions, and for the fourth-year secondary modern school boys it was part of the dimension of extraversion. The conclusion is that most of the teachers regarded as "mature" the pupil who was most typically a "teacher's boy" or girl, who was reliable and conscientious, cooperative and trustworthy. Teachers of secondary modern school girls in their last year at school did not relate maturity merely to those personal qualities that make a good pupil; they related it equally to qualities of extraversion which would stand the pupil in good stead when she entered the outside world. Teachers of secondary modern school fourth-year boys departed still further from the meaning

accorded to the word "maturity" by other teachers; they regarded as most mature those boys who were most sociable and extraverted.

Similarly the word "confidence" changed in meaning from one group to another. For all the boys' groups except one this trait fell between the two main dimensions. The implication is that these teachers considered the confident boy to be extraverted and active rather than introverted and passive, and reliable and conscientious rather than otherwise. For the fourth-year secondary modern school boys, and for all groups of girls, the trait was part of the dimension of extraversion. In other words, confidence was regarded as more closely related to extraversion in the case of girls than in the case of boys; with the exception of the older secondary modern school boys, for whom the dimension of extraversion included both confidence and, as we have seen, maturity.

The word "popularity" also changed its meaning with the age of the pupils. For first-year groups it was invariably close to confidence and between the two dimensions: the popular child was also the confident child. For all other pupils except fourth-year grammar school boys, "popularity" was part of the dimension of extraversion. As in the case of "maturity" and "confidence" this movement of "popularity" from between the two dimensions to the dimension of extraversion seems to reflect subtle changes in teachers' perceptions of younger pupils on the one hand and older pupils on the other. The implication is that with increasing age the popular children are also relatively more sociable and extraverted. Other evidence (4) suggests that this is indeed so, but the present evidence merely indicates that teachers believe it to be so.

8. CONCLUSIONS: COMPARISON WITH OTHER RESULTS

When evidence of the kind presented in this article indicates that teachers tend to classify their pupils along two major dimensions, the question arises whether comparable dimensions have been obtained in other investigations.

In England the most familiar work on dimensions of personality is that of Eysenck, who has summarised the literature on ratings of personality traits (5). It is immediately apparent that the dimension of social activity or extraversion obtained in the present series of studies is comparable to Eysenck's "introversion-extraversion". Further, the dimension designated as "reliability and conscientiousness" includes the trait of "emotional stability" and may, therefore be regarded as identical with Eysenck's "neuroticism". Eysenck's

dimensions were obtained initially from an analysis of neurotic symptoms, and later from self-rating inventories. Teachers' ratings of pupils lie in a somewhat different universe and it is remarkable that the dimensions should be so comparable.

From one standpoint the similarity may be claimed to derive from the fact that the two dimensions are contained in the meanings of words. This is the view of Osgood (6). His aim has been to study meaning by having people make judgments of a variety of concepts. The judgments are made on a number of scales, each described by a pair of opposing adjectives selected empirically, for example, from Roget's *Thesaurus*. The results have been analysed factorially. When the concepts have been people and policies, two factors have been obtained which are directly comparable to those described in this article: an "evaluative" factor concerned with approval-disapproval, and a "dynamism" factor concerned with activity and strength as opposed to passivity and weakness. In other words, when people make judgments of other people or policies, they behave as if they ask themselves two main questions: first, "Is he good or bad? Do I approve or disapprove?"; and second, "How strong and active or weak and passive is he?"

The dimensions described in this article were obtained in essentially the same way as those obtained by Osgood, by having people use a variety of adjectives to classify other people. In our case, however, there was a specific relationship between the judge and his subjects: that of teacher and pupil. The two questions were therefore interpreted as part of the teacher-pupil relationship. The first question became, "How much do I approve or disapprove of him as a pupil (i.e. is he conscientious, persistent, etc.)?" The second question became, "Is he strong and active socially in the school (i.e. is he extraverted)?"

It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss whether, in making an analysis of teachers' personality ratings of their pupils, we are studying the meanings of words or obtaining information about children. The object is merely to show the dimensions along which a teacher tends to "perceive" his pupils.

It seems that the dimensions described are typical of those which may be obtained from any situation in which judgments are made of either adults or children. They indicate two very simple but common means of classifying and describing people, but it is at least doubtful if they could have been specified without objective analysis.

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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GRAMMAR SCHOOL SUBJECTS (I)

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I. INTRODUCTION

RECENT controversies over the present pattern of specialisation in schools suggest the need for a general reconsideration of the relations between school subjects. The relative importance of different subjects has been disputed ever since the classical curriculum of the nineteenth century public schools was first threatened by the introduction of science and modern literature. These newer subjects were, of course, regarded at first either as soft options for the less able streams, or as unessential additions; the classical languages were still the "core" of the curriculum. Nowadays a precisely similar type of curriculum still finds favour—but with different subjects as the core. Thus, for example, the recent policy statement of the Science Masters' Association (2) urges the claims of science—conceived and taught as a major human activity—as a core subject. Others are convinced of the central importance of English literature when approached from the angle of imagination (e.g. Livingstone (3)). Probably, however, the idea of a single core subject, with its surrounding hierarchy of supporting subjects, will never gain general acceptance. It is more likely that during the early years of the grammar school course a general spread of subjects—tacitly assumed to be of equal importance—will prevail.

Equally probable is that the present practice of an initial uniform advance over a broad front will continue. Possible alternatives such as Whitehead's rhythmic development (4)—in which a precise study of languages such as English, French and Latin would dominate the timetable in the early years, followed by a shorter period of concentration on science—seem condemned to disuse by the demands of an external examination system. The stage when pupils begin to drop subjects, the third or fourth year, is then of crucial importance, and it is well to consider how subjects are then related from the

viewpoint of both attainment and interest. Some relevant researches are therefore reviewed. It is hoped this will provide a basis for discussion and further study by teachers and others concerned with the grammar school curriculum.

2. ATTAINMENTS

The relations between attainments in different subjects may best be appreciated from a factorial analysis of correlations. The value of factorial studies has been criticised—and often by persons with but a superficial knowledge of the relevant techniques—on the grounds that factors are simply a consequence of the particular mode of analysis. Factors however are best regarded as principles of classification, and the general factor of the usual centroid analysis is but an overall average of the items analysed. Again deviations from this average, and in particular their direction, give an objective indication of the extent of any group factors.

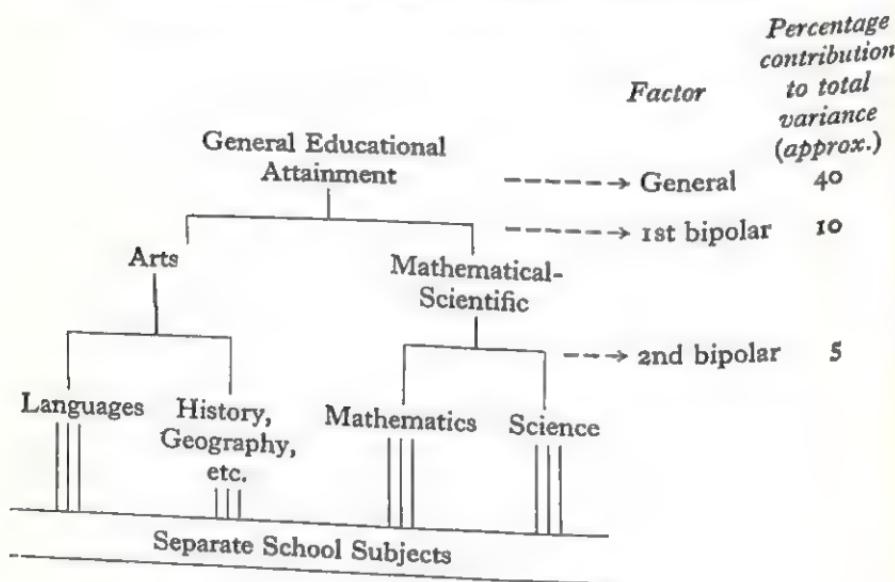
The most striking result of factorial studies in this field is undoubtedly the dominance of the general factor—a factor of general educational attainment entering into all the usual grammar school subjects. However several groups of subjects have been found to link together to an extent greater than could be explained by the general factor. Thus Wilson (5) in an analysis of data from the School Certificate examination of the N.U.J.B. found a factor linking together the mathematical subjects, and also factors for certain of the arts subjects (e.g. English and French). Earle (6) in an analysis of subjects examined in the first three years of a Scottish secondary school also found mathematical and other group factors. His analysis suggested that the influence of the group factors was strongest in the third school year. More recent studies (Ellis (7), Wrigley (8), Lewis (9)) have shown a partial bifurcation between arts subjects on the one hand and the mathematical-scientific on the other, and have also suggested a hierarchical pattern similar to that shown on p. 136. Such a pattern would seem to apply to pupils in the third or fourth year, taking a full range of subjects immediately prior to the onset of specialisation.

The existence of group factors for mathematics, science and languages should not be taken to mean that all pupils have aptitudes for these groups of subjects. Rather it means that individual differences in attainment tend to group together in the pattern shown. Two points of special importance may be noted:

(1) The relative smallness of the bipolar factors judged from the percentage contribution to the variance, and (2) the proportion of variance left unexplained.

From (1) it follows that individual differences in attainment in so far as they link with other subjects tend for the most part to link with all subjects. Only a small minority of pupils could be expected to show a marked arts-science disparity in attainment at this stage.

From (2) it follows that we should not be surprised to find *some* pupils showing a relatively high (or low) attainment in a set of subjects not grouped together in the above pattern (English, history and biology, for example). A rigid classification into pupil types cannot be substantiated from the evidence of factorial studies.



3. INTERESTS

While interest obviously accompanies attainment to some extent the correlation between the two can often be far from perfect. Thus pupils of limited ability might develop a decided interest in a particular subject without a correspondingly high attainment. Again a moderately high attainment might, with the more intelligent pupils, exist with little specific interest. It might well be argued that, given a reasonable minimum of attainment, the practical issues of specialisation ought to be resolved primarily through a consideration of interests.

Many studies of interest in school subjects have been made through simply asking pupils which subjects they particularly like

or dislike. Thus Prichard (10) arranged for over 8,000 pupils in 47 schools to rank their subjects in order of preference, and also to give a reason for their best and least liked subject. Though chemistry came first with the boys the results as a whole showed a greater interest for arts subjects, English and history in particular being placed high on the list. Among the reasons advanced for this was that these subjects deal with people; again subjects were often placed last on the list because they lacked this human note. Proficiency however was also a popular reason for liking a subject, especially arithmetic. Lambert (11), who asked over 300 girls in a Middlesex secondary school to assess their interest in school subjects on a 5-point scale, also found English ranked high in order of popularity, though practical subjects such as domestic science and art were about equally popular. More recently Stevens (12) made a survey of 19 maintained grammar schools from different parts of the country. Her questionnaire was answered by over 2,000 pupils. Despite considerable differences between schools science lessons stood out as the most popular with boys, foreign language lessons being the least popular. With girls there was more uniformity in the results although mathematics and, to a slightly less extent, foreign languages were the least liked.

Information from questionnaires is of course dependent upon the honesty and co-operation of the pupils. But if anonymity is assured, and the purpose of the enquiry explained to the pupils, a high validity for the information may reasonably be assumed. A more serious criticism is that questionnaire studies yield little information about the interrelations of subject interests. Thus subjects ranked first and second on a popularity list are not necessarily subjects which interest the same pupils.

A more promising line of attack is the quantitative assessment of interest by attitude scales of the type developed by Thurstone and Chave (13) and Likert (14). These are essentially series of carefully graded statements, with which one is asked to agree or disagree, expressing varying degrees of favourableness for the subject in question. (Also, the Likert-type scale allows different degrees of response such as *strongly agree*, *agree*, *indifferent*, *disagree* and *strongly disagree*.) In a scale ranging from 1 (extreme unfavourableness) to 9 (extreme favourableness) for instance the statement *I think mathematics is a very interesting subject* might have a scale value of 8.3; the statement *I don't mind studying mathematics* a scale value of 4.6; and the statement *Mathematics lessons bore me*

a scale value of 1.5. Correlation studies of the relations between attainment and interest, as measured by these scales, in separate subjects have shown an average correlation of about .25, the separate correlations ranging from about .20 to .35 (Jordan (15), Hashim (16)). Hashim also analysed correlations between interest in several school subjects. These correlations, which were obtained from nearly 200 boys (ages 12 to 14 years) in a secondary school in S.E. London, yielded a general factor and also a bipolar factor distinguishing interest in scientific from interest in literary subjects. Also the bipolar factor was more prominent, in relation to the general factor for the older boys.

Undoubtedly there is a tendency for interests to divide between the scientific and literary subjects, and probably the tendency is stronger than for the corresponding division of attainments. Whether it is sufficiently strong to justify an almost exclusive specialisation in either arts or science is another matter. To throw some light on this the writer recently carried out an enquiry in ten Belfast grammar schools. Pupils specialising exclusively in either arts or science at Advanced Level were asked which *three* subjects, taken to the standard of Ordinary Level they enjoyed most. The numbers in fact included all taking Advanced Level subjects in June 1961, apart from those taking geography (38 boys and 12 girls), those taking mathematics in combination with arts subjects (10 boys and 7 girls), and those taking a combination of arts and science subjects (9 boys and 5 girls). Subject preferences were thus obtained from a total of 247 boys (from 4 co-educational schools and 2 boys schools) and 135 girls (from the same 4 co-educational schools and 4 girls schools). Science specialists who preferred at Ordinary Level only science subjects or mathematics were distinguished from those whose preferences included an arts subject or geography; while arts specialists who preferred only arts subjects were distinguished from those whose preferences included a science subject or geography. The results were tabulated as shown opposite.

We see that of those specialising in science, over 40% of the boys and over 60% of the girls preferred an arts subject. The proportions of arts specialists who preferred science or mathematics, on the other hand, are smaller—about 30% of both boys and girls. Indeed only 4 arts pupils in all named one of the sciences, the most favoured non-arts subject being mathematics. (It is interesting to note, too, that arts girls from the co-educational schools favoured mathematics to a far greater extent than the corresponding group from girls'

SUBJECT PREFERENCES

A. PUPILS SPECIALISING IN SCIENCE

	<i>Only sciences or maths. preferred</i>	<i>Preferences include one arts subject</i>	<i>geography*</i>	<i>Total</i>
(1) Boys				
Co-ed. Schools	62	42	2	106
Boys Schools	33	36	7	76
Total	95	78	9	182
(2) Girls				
Co-ed. Schools	10	22	0	32
Girls Schools	9	11	1	21
Total	19	33	1	53

B. PUPILS SPECIALISING IN ARTS

	<i>Only arts subjects preferred</i>	<i>Preferences include mathematics</i>	<i>one science</i>	<i>geography† subject</i>	<i>Total</i>
(1) Boys					
Co-ed. Schools	27	7	0	1	35
Boys Schools	19	10	1	0	30
Total	46	17	1	1	65
(2) Girls					
Co-ed. Schools	21	20	1	6	48
Girls Schools	23	5	2	4	34
Total	44	25	3	10	82

* Pupils who preferred geography and an arts subject are totalled in the previous column.

† Pupils who preferred geography and mathematics or a science subject are totalled in the previous columns.

schools.) Generally however the figures provide clear evidence against the belief of a limitation of interest to either the arts or science side. A general diversity of interests is in fact particularly striking among the science specialists. Furthermore if the arts and science specialists are considered together we see that the largest single group, some 45% of the total numbers, consist of those who preferred both arts and science subjects.

4. DISCUSSION

The preceding survey challenges current practice whereby an overwhelming majority of those studying for Advanced Level do so exclusively on either the arts or science sides. This practice is strongly supported in the Central Advisory Council's report, 15 to 18 (The Crowther Report). "Subject-mindedness", the report declares (para. 333), "is a virtue among pupils. . . . It is also one mark of a

good and keen Sixth Former. He has looked forward to being a science specialist, or a classic, or a historian." Moreover this subject-mindedness is said to obscure all other fields of endeavour (para. 387). It is further assumed to be limited to three subjects, all traditionally associated on either the arts or science sides. A recent report by the Oxford University Department of Education (17) however points out that such an exclusive channelling of interest is not supported by the evidence of educational research. It describes how a questionnaire designed to show how far the arts-science division coincides with the real interests of pupils was answered by a group of over 2,800 sixth-formers. The answers showed that a free choice would have produced a pattern of subject combinations very different from current practice. Some 40 per cent, in fact, chose combinations including arts and science subjects, and if the possible choice were extended to four subjects the preference for "mixed" combinations became even more marked. In an attack on the Oxford report James (18) belittles the questionnaire as an instrument of research and suggests that pupils could easily guess the "right answers". But in fact-finding inquiries of this nature "right answers" are surely known only to those who are content to base educational policy on untested assumptions. It is not suggested that the interrelations of attainment and interests reviewed in this article are all that need be considered. It is suggested however that the assumptions underlying traditional practice should not be accepted uncritically. Indeed, whenever possible, such assumptions should be subjected to impartial inquiry. This article is a contribution towards this end.

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JUNIOR SCHOOL SCIENCE

A REPORT OF THE EFFECT OF AN HEURISTIC APPROACH TO THE TEACHING
OF SCIENCE IN THE TOP TWO FORMS OF A JUNIOR SCHOOL (1)

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I. INTRODUCTION

A VARIETY of methods have been advocated at various times as being particularly suited to the teaching of science. These have ranged from positivist to heuristic and included almost every "method" used in other branches of education. Project methods, centres of interest, modifications of the Dalton Plan, group methods, formal methods and individual methods—all have been, and are no doubt still being used, in the teaching of science in the schools of England and Wales. Yet "There is surprisingly little research on science teaching that is explicitly designed to test educational practice against psychological theory and experimental result" (2).

Opinion concerning the relative merits of respective methods is varied. The experience of the individual teacher is limited. Facts are few. Investigation of the methods used in the teaching of science would appear desirable. The present paper concerns one such investigation into the effects of an heuristic approach in a Junior School.

The opinion that science is a study only suited for that period of education occurring after eleven years of age has been held for many years. Even now one may read, "Systematic physical science is not suitable for Junior Schools and if attempted often causes children to lose interest in the subject in the Secondary stage" (3). Doubtless the teacher's attitude is, in part, dependent upon whether he considers Junior School science to be primarily a particular area of knowledge, a technique of investigation or a combination of both. Whilst a simplified Secondary School science scheme has no place in the Junior School, this does not exclude the possibility of an

approach to science in which matter and method are suited to Junior children's abilities.

Nyholm has suggested that science be considered as a method permeating the whole of Primary School education rather than as an additional subject to be added to a curriculum (4). The same idea has been put forward by Bronowski; "I am anxious to introduce it not as a specialist subject for the future scientist, but as a subject which is part of the general education of everyone" (5).

Work by Porter using a sample of 131 persons including heads and assistants in Junior and Secondary Schools, training college lecturers, teachers taking advanced courses in education and psychology, and students in training for teaching, indicates that all the groups questioned were in sympathy with the proposition that science be included in the Junior School curriculum (6).

An interesting consideration of the inclusion of science in the Junior School has been made by Curr. The traditional threefold basis of cultural, utilitarian and formal training is discussed. The results of research in this field are reviewed and "On the whole they have confirmed the pessimistic view that capacity for rational explanation does not appear spontaneously before an age corresponding to the end of the Junior School, but, . . . understanding is more closely related to mental than to chronological age" (7).

Such findings may appear to preclude the possibility of any effective large scale science teaching within the Junior School. However, when we consider the nature of the development of causal thought and the characteristics of Junior School children, the value of science in the Junior School may be appreciated the better. Piaget confirms the child's ability to reason during the Junior School period, providing the problem is one which may be dealt with in the "concrete" form rather than as the solution of a hypothetical problem (8). Other investigators conclude that interest in mechanical causality, and the ability to appreciate it, appear much earlier than the middle years of childhood, as suggested by Piaget; and that the degree to which this interest develops is partly a function of the social and physical environment (9).

For the Junior School not to acknowledge the pressure exerted on it by society to admit science into the curriculum, would be disingenuous. A society whose affluence stems largely from the discoveries of scientists, can be expected to make such a demand. Already such work in schools is accepted practice in other countries. The Minister of Education speaking at Oxford in 1960 said, "In many

other countries science is started before the age of eleven in the Junior Schools. There are many things to be done in Primary Schools. . . ."

The Primary School Report strikes a similar note, intimating that as yet we have no real appreciation of the work in science which may be performed by top class juniors. "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in physical science, for example, the potential achievements of the ablest pupils in the Junior School have yet to be revealed" (10).

It is for teachers to be cautious in such an enterprise, but not to prejudge the issue. They must also ensure that both matter and method are suitable for inclusion in the Junior School curriculum. To do this demands a careful consideration of the nature of the development of the child and of the approach to, and content of, such science as is introduced (11).

Quite clearly many teachers have accepted the possibility that science may, with advantage, be included in the Junior School curriculum (12) and thus the methods to be employed become a matter of importance. In order to test experimentally the effect of an heuristic approach to the teaching of science in the top two forms of a Junior School an experiment was designed. This report outlines the experimental design, the data obtained, its evaluation and interpretation.

2. EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The hypothesis to be tested was that 9, 10 and 11 year old Junior School children, instructed in science by a teacher using an heuristic approach, would be able to give more adequate explanations of phenomena involving causal relations than children from the same population who had not received science lessons based upon the heuristic approach.

It was desirable that the children be able to write down their explanations of the causes of various phenomena. Such ability to write was the only factor governing the list, presented by the Head, from which the children required for the experiment were selected. Using the method of random numbers, each child was allocated to either Group 1 or Group 2 until some 40 children had been selected (13). Raven's Progressive Matrices, 1938-56, were taken by all the children. No significant difference between the mean scores of the Groups was found. The Group which appeared to contain the lower potential ability as measured by R.P.M., was chosen as

the Experimental Group. Having randomly selected the two groups we may assume that since they are from the same population, at the beginning of the experiment no significant difference between the mean ability of the two Groups to explain causal relations would exist.

The Experimental Group was given a series of science lessons based upon an heuristic approach. The other group—the Control Group—did not receive such lessons. At the end of the experimental period both Groups answered two tests. Their scores were then compared and the effect of the experimental treatment evaluated. The interpretation of the data obtained, in relation to the limitations of both experimental design and practical difficulties, was considered.

Experimental treatment. The Experimental Group received a series of five one-hour lessons at weekly intervals. In these lessons the children were given opportunities to perform simple experiments and encouraged to offer explanations of the phenomena they had observed. The class discussed these explanations as fitting the situation or as requiring amendment. Care was taken that the topics present in the criterion tests, which were administered to both Groups at the end of the experimental period, were not discussed.

Duncker had been interested in the heuristic function of inspection. He states, "Inspection may not have the last word, but at any rate, it has the first. Its function is essentially heuristic" (14).

Although Duncker was referring to the solution of a problem, the explanation of any phenomenon is essentially the more or less successful solution of a problem, dependent upon the extent of our present knowledge. Therefore, in the approach used in this methods experiment and termed "heuristic", observation is given a place and performs an heuristic function as described by Duncker.

The Experimental Group also had opportunity to complete questionnaires eliciting causal explanations of various phenomena. As many of these as possible in the time available, were discussed by the class formed by the Experimental Group.

Thus the essential components of the experimental treatment were observation, experiment and discussion.

The Control Group was also given practice in completing questionnaires. Not to have allowed such paper and pencil practice would have been a serious defect in the design of the experiment, leaving the results, even if statistically significant, open to serious criticism. Both groups therefore had an equal amount of practice with questionnaires during the experimental period.

Criterion Tests. Two tests were given to all 40 children during the final testing sessions. The tests were adapted from work by Deutsche (15). In Test 1 the children were shown a series of twelve simple experiments and asked to answer one question about each.

Example Test 1, Q.3.

LEVEL OF WATER

Apparatus: Beaker partly filled with water. Large pebble.

Directions: Put pebble in the water.

Comments: I have a glass of water here, filled with water up to here (point). Now I'm going to put a pebble in. Now look! The water comes up to here now (point). What makes the water come up this far now?

WHY DOES THE WATER COME UP HIGHER WHEN I PUT THE PEBBLE IN?

The actual test sheets on which the children recorded their answers consisted of the twelve questions posed after the experiments. Time was allowed for the children to complete recording their responses before the next experiment was started.

In Test 2 the children were given a questionnaire and asked to answer twelve questions relating to various phenomena. These questions were read to the children, sufficient time being allowed for the writing of answers before the next question was read.

Example Test 2, Q.2. What makes snow?

In order to prevent the possibility of copying by the children during the test, groups of 20 were tested in the following order:

Test 1. Experimental Group.

Test 1. Control Group.

Test 2. Experimental Group.

Test 2. Control Group.

Hence any "leakage" of information could only have favoured the Control Group's performance.

Having obtained the responses of the two groups, the problem of evaluating them was met.

3. EVALUATION OF RESULTS

All of the children's responses were typed and duplicated. All spelling, punctuation and grammar being corrected where this was possible without distorting the child's response. Our criterion was the adequacy of the child's response. By eliminating the differences

in the abilities of the children to spell correctly, punctuate accurately or write neatly, the task of those who were to assess the adequacy of each response was made less difficult.

A group of five judges, members of the City of Birmingham Junior Science Circle and the Secondary Schools Science Circle, independently rated the children's responses on an eight point scale. The raters were given a complete set of answers that had been approved by the Head of a Training College Science Department. The scale descended from a rating of 7 for an answer judged correct to a rating of 0 for responses judged as "Omitted, don't know or incomprehensible". Definition was given for all the scale values. It was impressed upon the judges that this was to be an objective rating of the adequacy of the children's responses as explanations of the phenomena about which the children had been questioned. For both tests the rated scores were converted to produce an adequacy mean of about 100 and the reliability of the method of conversion was checked and found satisfactory.

The quantified scores were subject to an analysis of variance. No significant difference was found in either test between the performances of the two groups, or between the sexes. However, certain trends did appear. The following tables, A and B, indicate the extent to which the Experimental Group produced more adequate answers than the Control Group; the sex difference is also indicated.

Number of words used. The groups were also compared with reference to the number of words used in their responses to the items of the criterion tests. Although there is no direct evidence that the length of a response is an adequate measure of language development, McCarthy has found evidence indicating the possibility of such a relationship (16).

TABLE A (TEST I)
COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORES FOR ADEQUACY OF EXPLANATION

	Mean Score of Control group	Mean Score of experimental group	Difference in favour of experimental group	Mean Score of whole group (control + experimental)
Boys				
Girls	101.578	109.540	7.962	105.768
Difference in favour of boys	92.420	96.511	4.091	94.358
Mean Score of whole group (boys and girls)	96.758	103.368	6.610	100.063

TABLE B (TEST 2)

Boys	99.656	107.350	7.694	103.705
Girls	95.730	95.189	-0.541	95.474
Difference in favour of boys	3.926	12.161	—	8.231
Mean Score of whole group (boys and girls)	97.589	101.589	4.000	99.589

The data was subject to an analysis of variance in order to investigate the relative word output of the groups and the sexes. No significant F ratio was found in either test between the number of words used by the groups or sexes.

The following tables, C and D, indicate the extent by which the groups and the sexes differed in their word output.

TABLE C (TEST 1)

COMPARISON OF MEAN SCORES FOR NUMBER OF WORDS USED

	Mean Score of control group	Mean Score of experimental group	Difference in favour of experimental group	Mean Score of whole group (control + experimental)
Boys	114.110	116.400	-2.290	115.320
Girls	162.900	128.000	34.900	146.370
Difference in favour of boys *	48.790	11.600	—	31.050
Mean Score of whole group (boys and girls)	139.790	121.890	17.900	130.840

TABLE D (TEST 2)

Boys	73.330	83.500	-10.170	78.680
Girls	112.400	84.890	27.510	99.370
Difference in favour of boys *	39.070	1.390	—	20.690
Mean Score of whole group (boys and girls)	93.890	84.160	9.730	89.030

* i.e. fewer words used.

Although the differences have proved to fall short of significance, their consistency is strong presumptive evidence that the Experimental Group was superior both in terms of adequacy and economy of response. On the same two criteria the boys showed an almost completely consistent superiority over the girls.

4. INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The technique of presenting experiments to children in groups and using their responses as a basis for investigation, appears satisfactory. The split half reliability coefficients (.864 for Test 1, and .834 for Test 2) are fairly high, bearing in mind that the test items differ greatly from one another and that the test as a whole is not standardised.

The analysis of the quantified adequacy ratings throws into prominence the sex differences known to exist by virtue of previous work done in this field. As the adequacy ratings were reliable, the analysis of the quantified scores becomes a validation of the technique employed. Were the method not an adequate one, the expected sex differences would have been unlikely to appear.

The use of the open response and the group test have the advantage of ensuring that the data analysed is representative of what the child thinks, as opposed to techniques which direct the child's response to one of a number of categories.

For the Experimental Group, in general, to produce shorter but more adequate answers than the control group suggests that the Experimental Group's treatment may have enabled them to deal with the criterion tests more effectively than the Control Group.

As no statistically significant difference was found between the groups in Test 1 or Test 2, in either adequacy of response or number of words used in the responses, it could be claimed that with the given teacher and children from the given population, the use of an heuristic approach for five weeks makes no significant difference to the child's ability to explain causal relations.

However, it is to the interpretation of the data in the light of the limitations of the experiment, that we must look for guidance concerning the value of the method under consideration (17). Four points in the experiment raise doubts concerning the veracity of a conclusion such as that given in the preceding paragraph.

(a) The Experimental Group was of lower ability, as measured by R.P.M., though not significantly.

(b) Both groups had practice in questionnaire completion.

(c) Testing arrangements were such that any leakage of information could only favour the Control Group.

(d) The experimental period was of only five weeks.

At any point in the experiment where a situation arose in which either group was likely to gain any advantage, other than through

the Experimental Group's lessons, it was the Control Group which was given the advantage. To have done otherwise would have been to vitiate the results of the experiment.

That points (a), (b), and (c) represent tendencies to reduce the possibility of the Experimental Group performing at a significantly higher level than the Control Group, is clear from their nature.

It appears likely that point (d) would act in the same direction. However, as the heuristic approach itself was being tested, to assume that a longer period of lessons for the Experimental Group would increase their ability to explain causal relations is not justified. It could equally well be claimed that the children scored in spite of the method and a longer period of lessons would then result in a deterioration in their performance.

This aspect may well be investigated and the results of the present experiment be considered in the light of the effect of the treatment on the same population for differing periods.

The results from this experiment suggest that lessons of the type described, given by the particular teacher to children from the prescribed population, may assist in the development of the children's ability to explain causal relations.

That the data obtained neither confirms nor refutes the initial hypothesis has already been stressed; but the interpretation of the data in the light of the experimental limitations shows that there is strong presumptive evidence that the Experimental Group was superior in both adequacy and economy of response.

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WHY TEACH HISTORY? THE ANSWER OF FIFTY YEARS

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II

THE patriotism which it was said to be the object of history teaching to help to impart was tested to the full in the tidal wave of the Great War, 1914-18, which swept over the world and passed down the stream of time leaving in its wake a seething, agitated humanity. Everything which had been firm was now loose; nothing was stable. The League of Nations did not provide the measure of protection and stability owing to the insularity of the Americans. The emergence of the Labour party as a new force in English politics and the fall of Lloyd George were as disturbing as world events. The economic situation was grave and the General Strike of 1926 showed the lack of wisdom of those who before 1914 had been "educated for citizenship". In this society, still in turmoil as a result of the Great War, the cry went up, "It must never happen again."

A re-assessment of the educational system was inevitable. What part had education to play in securing the stability of the nation? In a world where all values were challenged, what was the value of history in schools?

Education for citizenship was still a keynote in the books on the teaching of history which appeared in these years. It was stressed in the Board of Education's pamphlet 37 (1923), and in the Report of the I.A.A.M. (1925). The chief aim was to equip the future citizens with full knowledge of how his society had evolved. But this is rather different from prescribing the rights and duties of citizenship, and very different from inspiring patriotism, as in 1911. Education for citizenship in one sense or another has never died.

The chief characteristic of historical philosophy between 1920 and 1932 was that the value of history lay in the historical attitude and methods. But parallel with this ran yet another stream of thought. Education must be suited to the child. History must be in his own

terms, said Sir Fred Clarke (39), and this will require the jettisoning of most of the history learned in university. J. J. Bell reinforced this by outlining what he thought a child was interested in (40). The syllabus had to be limited to the pupils' experience, at least at first, and the history course should expand from that point. The Hadow Report took a somewhat different line. It justified the inclusion of history in the curriculum on the ground of interest. The Report recognised its intrinsic values as an understanding of "society, its institutions and how it has come to pass", an idea of relationships and interactions of events; a sense of proportion and perspective, "a sense of the order of civilisations" and man's place in them; and a power to make independent judgments. The aims were to give an abiding interest in and an appreciation of the past.

The methods were those of the "embryo historian"—a training in investigation. The pupils should acquire an "attitude of mind and processes of thought peculiar to history"—the ability to see things in their narrower and wider contexts. By this means they become aware *incidentally* of the complexity of simple problems of public life. Any material which deals with human endeavour is legitimate content: but the Report makes a strong plea for world history for older pupils. In 1922, the teaching of history in schools in England had been accused of "a somewhat aristocratic insularity" (41); and the Hadow Report, despite earlier pleas, still maintained that the staple of the syllabus should be British history with "some idea of its world setting". But another challenger for a place in the curriculum was local history. In the Historical Association Conferences, 1907-10, local history had been advocated as useful to illustrate national history, in keeping with the J. R. Green tradition (42). It could not take the place of political history, because of the examinations and because that would deny the value of history to introduce the pupil to a sweep of history, to give him a sense of perspective. It was to be "British History illustrated from local history, and not local history expanded into a more or less incomplete form of British history" (43). But J. J. Bell urged the study of local history in its own right. We must build on the child's concrete experience. All abstraction must go. Each "Theme" must start within the experience of the child and work outward.

Mr Happold's view of the values of history (44) was that of the professional filled with enthusiasm for his subject. No doubt his enthusiasm was catching; but the basic idea was historical training. It did not matter so much *what* the pupils learnt so long as they

learned *how* to learn it. History is romantic and dramatic and must be taught, at least in the early stages, in that way—to expand the child's imagination. Success and failures are valuable as "real training towards the acquiring of an historical sense and an insight into the realities of history". The pupil must "carry out in a small way some process of research" for historical reconstruction. He will thus learn exactitude and tolerance; he will see two points of view. He must work out his own ideas, organise his work and assess the value of the information for himself. This method, claims the author, develops powers of initiative, co-ordination and expression—"an introduction to historical research". He will form judgments and assess significance. He will correlate facts and realise cause and effect. By this means, the pupil will learn not only those things which could be gained from any study—the means of expression, the use of books, observation, and "habits of initiative and sustained efforts which make for success both in scholarship and life"—but also "a feeling for historical development". He will "receive a training adequate both for scholarship and the world of affairs". Self-discipline will be one value learned but the one truly historical value is a sense of proportion, a framework of reference. He should also acquire an enthusiasm for history.

It is important to note that Mr Happold suggests his development charts and imaginative reconstruction in 1928 as something startling in its novelty. But Miss Mercier suggested much the same scheme in 1909 (45). The main difference lay in the aims. Miss Mercier aimed to produce a patriot; Mr Happold either an historian or a civil servant. Both belonged to the public schools. What about the ordinary pupil?

Catherine Firth directed her attention to these pupils. Among her many works was one on the teaching of history (46). The chief value of history is an understanding of the present—"so the child . . . may be prepared by the practice of looking back for the process of looking round". Here we first find the concept of "heritage" into which the pupil must enter. It is obvious therefore that the content should be mainly British history. A. P. Newton was urging strongly the expansion of the content of school history to include Imperial history, but Miss Firth went even further. Each pupil is part of a wider whole—mankind. World history is important and it is this author who suggests that history teaching in schools should support the work of the League of Nations. Other values, she maintains, are incidental, selection, the use of inference, comparison and contrast,

and the strengthening of imagination. Judgments will be made; the pupil will distinguish between the true and the false, the things which matter and those which do not. Also, he will discover examples of how to live. It is at this point that we find a new note—"in history, a child sees human life as a whole"—and a reiteration that "the proper study of mankind is man". It is even suggested that a new vision of beauty and goodness will come from a study of human life. This is more than the pragmatic value of history—history as an exercise in examples, which E. C. Walker sounded at the same time. It might be termed the cultural value of history. Anything which concerns man must be of value to man.

Mr Walker's view, put forward at much the same time (47), is based upon the moral effect on the pupils of their material. He thus would leave aside the present emphasis upon wars and national political history, because it encourages jingoism and patriotism. He speaks of a "loftier kind of patriotism" which comes from "the high moral purpose of history". "Good History Teaching should undertake to teach morality." History more than any other subject should train a balanced and vital individual, one who is aware through knowledge of his fellow human beings of impending responsibilities and duties that will be expressed in hard work and profitable leisure.

This view is halfway between that of Miss Firth and that of the Spens Report, which saw the aim of history teaching to be "to educate pupils to become citizens of a modern democratic society" (48). Again the means are the same as earlier—to provide the necessary information to understand present society and political issues, and to teach a balanced attitude, a breadth of mind and a spirit of sympathy and tolerance. And this view was substantially the same as that which had been put forward in the previous year in the Board of Education's revised edition of its *Suggestions to Teachers*. The assessment of the values of history found here (49) is based on the view of history as "the story of how things happen and how people behave". History thus has three values—an epic one, to stir the imagination and broaden the sympathy; a moral one, although the moral lessons will be learnt indirectly; and a practical one, a sense of perspective and an understanding of modern society. A causal relationship must be shown both in time and in space—therefore British history must be taught in its world context. The pupil should learn to contrast the past and the present and thus "lay the foundations for intelligent citizenship". Therefore history teaching must be brought up to date. And there is a disciplinary value in

history, the facts to be learned and tested. What is most significant is the suggestion that teachers can omit from the syllabus those things with which the pupil is not likely to come into contact. There is no idea here of history being used to broaden the experience of the pupil.

The Spens Report was slightly more enlightened when it spoke of history for its own sake. And this was the emphasis of M. V. C. Jeffreys (1939) (50). He saw the value of history to lie in the disposition of the mind which its methods taught, not in the facts. He faced the difficulties of school history, as indeed did most writers—its remoteness from reality, its great scope and the adult nature of its experience. He dismissed Stubbs' view of the aim of history teaching as one of preparation for the exercise of political judgment as unrealistic for children. But he did not deny that citizenship should be a uniform one goal for the teacher; he concentrated instead upon the more immediate aims of teaching history. History was a significantly related sequence, although the relationship was not always one of cause and effect. The sequence, he claimed, "must mean something and help us to a better understanding of ourselves and our world and the nature of life". History was an evolution; its study enabled us to see our society in perspective. This is the historical attitude which "ought to help us to transcend the limitations of our particular thought". A sense of detachment is necessary to understand our age; the pupil must interpret his world in the light of a larger one. "Throwing the shuttle", Mr Jeffreys calls it, which is to fall into the error which he condemns in Bishop Stubbs—that of ascribing to children the mental processes of adults.

Jeffreys, however, for all his emphasis upon "lines of development", did not underestimate his material. Some practical knowledge of the world must be given to the pupil before he leaves. But the intrinsic value lay in the methods of studying history, which he pointed out were different from those of historical research. The same view was expressed by H. Johnson (51). The values as he saw them lay in the methods of acquiring facts and in the sense of historical development. To understand society was one aim, but he sternly resisted any attempt to subordinate history to what we thought was relevant.

He assessed the current situation at the time (1940) thus: "the utility of historical instruction in English Schools is still widely questioned and its rank in English education is far below its rank on the continent". But the teaching in England was freer from the aim of inculcating patriotism than it was abroad. He spoke of the

emphasis given in English schools to continuity, whereby periods and topics were unpopular; and of the growing emphasis on social studies as a rival to historical teaching. This had been suggested strongly by Happold in 1935 (52), and supported to a certain extent by Jeffreys; for both it was chiefly a means of "education for citizenship". But the demand for correlation in the curriculum (which had been heard as early as 1911) (53) now took the form of a claim by the social studies to form the core of the curriculum, especially in the re-assessment of teaching which took place at the end of the Second World War. H. McNicol, among others, made a strong plea (1945) (54) for the abandonment of formal history and for a grouped social studies course in its place. The Norwood Report (1943) (55) reviewed the situation and spoke of the divergent aims, content, and method of current teaching. Although in its conservative and muddled way it attempted to give some guidance to teachers, its chief value is in the assessment of the confused situation among teachers of history. Its own view was that the value of history lay in the information given—a sense of perspective, an ability to relate the present to the past. Therefore it urged more modern history and a little world history; but the pupil was primarily a citizen of the United Kingdom and his interests lay there. It would appear that the official reports were unable to do otherwise than lay stress on citizenship. The Norwood Committee apparently saw some value in a study of biographies, especially in the junior forms where the values to be derived from the methods of study were not applicable. "It is in the Sixth Form that real historical study begins."

And so the position has remained until to-day—a welter of confusion. The words which opened this description are as true at the close of it as they were at the beginning. The position has been worsened by the two world cataclysms.

But the position in the teaching of history is rather different in many ways from that before the war. The most noticeable is the emergence of a "secondary modern" type of education. Hitherto writers have been concentrating on the former "county schools", the forerunners of the "grammar schools" of to-day. The former "elementary schools" were often ignored. Now, however, a distinct type of education has been evolved. This is freer from examinations, although they are gradually creeping into these schools. There is more questioning about the aim of instruction. Ever since 1907, the cry has gone up in one form or another—"we must get our pupils

through their examinations" (56). This has dominated methods and content to a large extent. But with the reorganisation of the General Certificate examinations, even the grammar school teachers are asking "What am I aiming at and how can I best achieve it?" Thus "whether at eleven-plus the child passes to a modern or a Technical School, where the pattern of his soul can be enriched by Lines and/or Patches and by Social Studies, or to a Grammar School, where in addition to all this he can practise in embryo 'the processes of the historian', his history can so very easily come alive for him, where fifty years ago this needed an exceptional teacher" (57). The widespread questioning and re-assessment has had some effect.

Another factor has influenced the situation. The "new psychology" has at last got down to school level. Up to 1939 teachers who wrote on history may have denied the doctrine of transference of training, but in their insistence that the value of history lay chiefly in the methods of studying it, they were inheriting and maintaining an outworn concept. What they thrust out at the front door came in through the back.

This concept has recently been denied. The I.A.A.M., in its "comprehensive treatment of history teaching (58) of which past generations of students never had the like", warns of the difficulties of studying history and draws a strong distinction between the general pupil and the specialist—only the latter can receive "a faculty of judgment, a gift of detachment, and the other intellectual qualities which the study of history can bestow". The general pupil cannot. Nor is the aim of historical study to train in citizenship. Rather the values of history are in certain basic attitudes and qualities. It feeds the imagination and curiosity of the pupils; it is "directly and entirely concerned with the behaviour of human beings" (an idea which runs counter to the "lines of development" school of teacher-historians) and thus the pupils can gain other standards and values, a widened sympathy. The Report claims that, as pupils are interested in questions of right and wrong, they should be guided in the moral judgments which they are bound to make on the people they meet. They will begin to question and criticise the standards of their own age; they will acquire a sense of proportion, seeing their world as part of a larger one in time and space and as an experiment in living. "History can give a sound training in the recognition of cause and effect in political and economic problems." Although it asserts in one place that the value of history lies in the habits and attitudes rather than in the facts which it imparts, the aims of teaching include the

inculcation of a liking for history, and some rudimentary skill in understanding and handling historical facts; and it claims that some knowledge is essential to the pupil as a future citizen and a cultured person.

This last is a note which has been sounded indistinctly before. "History has much to give to the education of the whole man." And yet the Report adds, "it would be rash to claim for history results which no other study could produce". It gives with one hand and takes with the other. The accuracy in apprehension and statement, ability to distinguish relevance and select, the weighing of evidence and detection of bias, the distinguishing between the true and the false, the probable and the improbable—all this can be achieved by other study as well as by history.

This is characteristic of the age—the uncertainty and confusion, a lack of conviction and a reiteration of old arguments. The Report gives specimens of syllabuses with the aims appended above. Few of these state anything new—to understand the local and national environment and current political problems, to develop critical thought, constructive and logical argument, to stimulate imagination and give a sense of values, to train in expression and in the accumulation and use of facts, to encourage further study. But among them lies a new note—to broaden the experience of human personality (59). And for this value, the essential aim of the teacher is to encourage enthusiasm in the subject on the part of the pupil.

The last note has been repeated by all writers on history in the last few years. The ultimate aim is to waken enthusiasm (60). The teacher is satisfied if the pupil has a real interest, some knowledge, a trained mind and "some notion of the relative values in history" (61). These "relative values" are neither a training in morals nor citizenship nor patriotism, but an understanding of our society and the cultivation of the "forward look"; a widened horizon to see the essential unity of mankind; a "special kind of mental training for older children"—the collection and relation of data, the use of expression, memory, imagination and judgment of character, and a training in orderly and dispassionate thought; and finally the use of history to explore the essential unity of knowledge.

Running through all the modern discussion on the value of history is the phrase "our heritage". History is the heritage into which the pupil must enter—which is understood by some as saying that history gave us the present and we cannot understand the present without a study of the past. This is the position of the Ministry of Education's

Pamphlet of 1952 (62). Certain knowledge must be acquired; the pupils should be introduced to their heritage which is no longer local, English and political, but universal, personal and social. History may be studied as an evolution, scientifically, but it also involves the use of the imagination. Privilege and responsibility must still be taught through history. But "the final goal is to understand something, to appreciate something". The ultimate values thus are personal—aesthetic and intellectual. The two extreme views are denied—history as an intellectual discipline and history as unfit for schools. It gives a sense of perspective, of contrast, change and sequence, of development and decay; it also has a value for citizenship; and it enables the pupil to explore. But the heritage view of history is most clearly expressed in the aim "to tell the story even when we cannot point directly to a purpose or a moral. It's a very good story; what it needs most is good telling".

Most valuable of all is this pamphlet's assessment of the place of social studies. It decides that although they have some use, their limitation is chiefly that they do not introduce the pupil to *real* people but only to types—the "representative man in the representative house". There is no idea of character, of the movement of nations and peoples. The pamphlet asserts strongly the value of "patch" history against "outline", or "periodic" history, or "lines of development", on the ground that sympathy and imagination are broadened by introduction to real people.

We have thus seen the value of history in schools to change. Originally a moral value (63), it slowly changed to a training in citizenship and patriotism. For this purpose, British political history, the records of wars and biographies were its chief staple. Faith in the rise of democracy laid greater emphasis on constitutional developments and social trends. But at no time was there any demand for the study of trade unions or other such movements, which appear to be essential to life in present society.

By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century the value was seen to lie in the methods of study—as an intellectual discipline and as a widening of sympathy and imagination. The scope of history was thus widened only very slightly to include Commonwealth history, but the contents became in some ways more social and less personal. History became a scientific development, hence the lines of development. Drama and epic were dropped. The borders were pushed back to prehistory.

Now history is seen to be of value to the personality of the child. He is part of a world which has an heritage. Man has evolved from animals, and the study of history is to show this evolution in a social context. The pupil still has to be a citizen of a shrinking world, and to cater for the grim politics of the mid-twentieth century; he must learn something at least of the three great powers, the British Commonwealth, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., to say nothing of Asiatic history. Unesco's attempts to direct history teaching in English schools have been thwarted—a "truly balanced international sense, like critical power in general . . . is mostly taught indirectly". Contemporary history is slowly coming into its own. It would be silly to assume that this development was by any means clearcut. All these stages were urged at all times, and were no doubt practised. "It is possible even to-day [1956] to listen to a history lesson which has learnt nothing since 1906" (64). There is no means of knowing how far practice followed preaching, how far the great increases in the resources available have been used.

The problem still is not settled. Recent publications and the columns of *The Times Educational Supplement* still reflect differing views—"history for its own sake" against "a knowledge of the past for an understanding of the present". But if the controversy is not settled, at least the issues at stake should be clearer.

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upon the initiative, enthusiasm or capacity of the teacher than upon the requirements of those public examinations towards which our schools move annually . . ."—and Pamphlet 19, p. 10—"Nobody who teaches history well is likely to achieve success in examinations of the ordinary type." Cf. also note 3 (vol. 14, No. 1, p. 20) above.

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BOOK NOTICES

GEORGE Z. F. BEREDAY, WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN, GERALD H. READ and
INA SCHLESINGER (ed.), *The Changing Soviet School* (Constable,
London, 1960, pp. xvii + 514, 36s.).

IN the late summer of 1958, some seventy members of the American Comparative Education Society made a field study of the Soviet educational system. They visited nurseries, schools, training colleges, universities, the Academy of Educational Sciences of the RSFSR, institutions for the handicapped and Pioneers' circles. They interviewed officials, teachers and students in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and even Tashkent. The team consisted of specialists in education, of whom twelve knew Russian. They were in the USSR at the time when the far reaching reforms embodied later in the December 1958 decree on the "strengthening of the bonds between school and life" were being widely discussed. The present detailed and competent report, illustrated by some charming photographs, is the outcome of their visit to the USSR.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I is introductory and consists of an essay by the chief editor Dr Bereday, on the ideological assumptions underlying Soviet education and an historical summary by Dr Brickman of New York University. "The core of the book, however, and its claim to strength is the record of the observations made by some seventy American educators who spent a month in the Soviet Union" and whose observations form Part II and III of the book.

Dr Bereday, who did not accompany the team to the USSR, attended that summer a seminar on Soviet education held in Munich, the outcome of which was a symposium, *The Politics of Soviet Education*, edited jointly by him and Jaan Pennar. In the prefatory chapter to the present book Dr Bereday writes "The Soviet system has two major characteristics: it is a planned system and it is a mass system. The essence of the plan is that it attempts to plot the course of progress. The essence of mass pressure is that it defies such restrictions. On the one side, the expansion of the Soviet school system creates new day-to-day problems and contingencies. On the other side, the plan establishes overriding uniformities. . . . These two characteristics are plainly incompatible." So his purpose is to follow within the fabric of Soviet education "the weak thread of planning and the strong thread of mass scale".

An overall picture of the Tsarist educational legacy undoubtedly helps to understand the trials and achievements of the present régime, but why Dr Brickman should take us back to the tenth century is not clear. A

kaleidoscopic summary of a thousand years of political and cultural developments can only confuse those who know no Russian history and raise objections regarding selection among those who do; e.g. if we are to start *ab ovo* why not mention the origin of the cyrillic alphabet which is still with us to-day? or why devote a whole page to the curious fate of four students sent to England at the end of the sixteenth century and died there or joined the Church of England thus failing to contribute to any further progress in Russia? It would have been quite sufficient to summarise the salient features of old Russia's educational legacy, such as (a) widespread illiteracy, especially among women, older people and the non-Russian minorities in the East, for it handicapped the industrialisation of the country; (b) the network of primary schools which had started to expand rapidly, but only after 1908-9 (six million children in primary schools according to the January 1911 school census, i.e. 4·04% of the total population); this network survived the economic collapse of the early revolutionary years and began to expand after 1925 making possible the introduction of universal four-year education in 1930-32; (c) the antiquated but academically high standards of secondary schools (enrolment less than half a million) and universities (enrolment about 116,000 students including those in higher technical establishments) which, despite a severe attrition rate of the 1920's, made possible the "take off" and, eventually, the present spectacular scientific achievements.

It was in this setting that the educators of the "experimental" period of Soviet education (1921-31) tried out their new progressive methods designed to emancipate the child from the fetters of traditional schooling and to democratise higher education. However, in the 1930s the stern demands of industrialisation and, later, of postwar reconstruction made a sound knowledge of maths and science imperative and there was a return to discipline and traditional school subjects. Dr Brickman's account of both periods is richly informative though lacking in balance; e.g. he devotes four pages to the fortunes of John Dewey's theories in the USSR and four lines to World War II, he mentions the Korean war in which the USSR took no direct part but omits the siege of Leningrad where 600,000 inhabitants died of hunger and disease in 1941-44. Part I closes with a chapter outlining the Soviet educational system on the eve of the 1958 reforms and the long quotations from Khruschev's memoranda as well as the statistical information given are relevant and to the point.

Part II opens with an account of school administration and is illustrated by a chart of the Soviet educational hierarchy and time-tables of courses for chairmen of local educational authorities and school inspectors. Like most other chapters it is based partly on interviews with Soviet teachers and officials and partly on printed material. Of the following chapters—which cover the entire educational ladder from nurseries to universities—the most interesting are probably those on secondary school curricula (ch. 9) and on polytechnisation (ch. 10). The team took great

trouble to assess the way subjects were taught, the degree of verbalism and pupil participation, the use or absence of visual aids and library facilities, the standards achieved etc.; they attended lessons, inspected school laboratories and observed methods of modern language instruction. They noted variations in attainment despite rigidly uniform curriculum, discipline and even teaching techniques. They studied the content and methods of polytechnical education which is the ultimate goal towards which Soviet educators have striven both in the early years of the Revolution and again after 1952. When the team was in the USSR, many schools had workshops with equipment that varied in quality and some were sending their pupils for a day or half-a-day every week to work in factories or for three-week periods to farms during the summer vacation. Educational value of on-the-job training, sociological implications and high cost of school workshop equipment were discussed with Soviet educators now bent on achieving the long desired combination of productive work and formal instruction. The new approach as well as rising standards are affecting teacher training institutions; these are mainly of two types: the pedagogical schools with a two-year course and the pedagogical institutes and universities both with five-year courses. Graduates from pedagogical schools are now entitled to teach only in nursery and primary schools; therefore many teachers are raising their qualifications by means of correspondence courses with the result that enrolment at the correspondence departments of some pedagogical institutes exceeds that of regular students. Teachers who have statutory qualifications but wish to keep abreast with modern scientific or didactic developments can attend institutes for the "improvement of teachers".

The team interviewed also the chairman of the Trade Union of Employees of Educational, Higher Educational and Research Establishments of the USSR and the editor and staff of the newspaper *Uchitelskaya gazeta*, which is published jointly by the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR and the Trade Union. The latter numbers close on four million members who belong to the teaching, research, administrative, cleaning and maintenance staffs of educational establishments. The proportion of Party members within the Union is high, roughly 20% (national average 3%) and no one is eligible to teach history who is not a member of the Party. The chapter on the Academy of Educational Sciences includes some biographical data on its leading personnel and bibliographical information on its publications which will be much appreciated by readers with a knowledge of Russian.

Part III deals with the education of the handicapped and the gifted, extra-curricular activities and "Character and moral education in a Collectivist Society". The team visited institutions for mentally retarded, neurotic, deaf and blind children, and met members of the Institute of Defectology of the Academy of Educational Sciences and pedagogical institutes, a few of which train teachers for these specialised schools.

However, "care of the handicapped has been so long neglected in the USSR that work in this field has not progressed so far as it has in the United States".

It would be contrary to the equalitarian tendencies of Soviet educationalists to envisage special facilities for the gifted and an attempt to do so at the time of the 1958 reform failed despite support from members of the Academy of Sciences. However, special schools of art, music and ballet do exist. Children who are particularly gifted for maths or science can take advantage of voluntary circles; sometimes these enjoy the support of important institutions such as the University of Moscow which organises Mathematical Olympic Games. Extracurricular activities include sports and games, drama and music, experimenting in young naturalists' groups or doing things in technical and "clever hands" circles. The circles are usually the concern of Youth organisations, i.e. the Pioneers and Komsomol, whose major task is, however, to train the young in Communist ideology and standards of behaviour with emphasis on public service, habits of toiling for the common good, optimism, resourcefulness and devotion to the Party. The hold of the Komsomol on the outlook and behaviour of senior pupils and students is probably very great. For many it is the gateway to Party membership. Latterly, school and factory Komsomol units have been encouraged to merge, apparently to overcome a possible emergence of class differentiation.

Any discussion of Communist Youth organisations necessarily leads to that of ideology and morals. For the Soviet educator morality is behaviour conditioned by and resulting from definite social conditions. Patterns of behaviour are initially imposed by family, school, or Pioneer units; they become habitual responses to given situations and are eventually "internalised" to form an integral part of the personality. Communist and American educators strive to instil fairly similar standards of behaviour but the underlying principles are poles apart. Reading the last pages of the book under review, one feels that in rejecting the enforced conformity of Communist morality, the Americans awoke to the realisation that in their endeavour to weld into a single nation the descendants of immigrants from every corner of the earth, they, too, had been unconsciously accepting and imposing a "customary morality". Their duty lay now in the search for a morality which would consist in the free, unprejudiced and thoughtful choice of alternatives and combine "concern for the welfare of every man with the spontaneity that comes from a mind and heart unbounded in freedom of inquiry".

E. KOUTAISOFF

NATHAN ISAACS, *The Growth of Understanding in the Young Child* (E.S.A., pp. 41, 3s. 6d.).

READERS who find Piaget's work too difficult to study or too considerable in volume will be grateful to Mr Isaacs for a second short book in which examples of children's thinking and Piaget's theory of its development are described concisely. In this book he outlines the development of children's thinking during the first seven years and illustrates children's difficulties from some of Piaget's experiments into concepts of number, space and time. As in the earlier book he considers the bearing of these investigations on educational practice.

R. BEARD

H. M. CUNDY and A. P. ROLLETT, *Mathematical Models*, Second edition (Oxford University Press, pp. 280, 25s.).

MAKERS of mathematical models will welcome this book as an old friend. The high standard of the first edition is maintained and the scope is increased by the addition of further material on machines and a new chapter on logical devices. The book will continue to give great pleasure and should stimulate fresh lines of inquiry among older pupils in schools.

R. BEARD





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THE HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT: ITS STATUS AND VALUE

by W. A. L. BLYTH

Lecturer in Education, University of Manchester

I

THE growth of educational scholarship is characterised by an increasing differentiation of its subject-matter. In this, of course, it resembles the growth of any other form of scholarship; and as in other fields there comes a stage at which, owing to increasing precision of the definition of established disciplines and rapid proliferation of research and criticism within those disciplines, room is left for new fields of study to develop in the interstices between the older and more familiar areas. One of these new fields is the History of Educational Thought. Now that it has emancipated itself from its two parents, Philosophy (or "Principles") of Education and History of Education, it is necessary to consider the status of this discipline, and its value as a part of a programme of educational studies.

II

The first of these issues resolves itself into an attempt to answer the question: What is the history of educational thought, and is it academically respectable? An answer will be sought through a series of arguments intended to convince a University man, the Sceptic, who will derive some intellectual amusement from disputing its claims. He starts with the familiar donnish gambit that *educational* thought, whether past or present, is not worthy of serious academic attention. History of political thought? History of scientific thought? Naturally: for politics and science are not only essential activities in a civilised society, but are normal interests of the adult intellect. But educational thought is about children, and must therefore itself be somewhat childish, says the Sceptic. Even Socrates could scarcely have taught the Greek alphabet to the Athenian youth without being intellectually corrupted by them.

This mention of Socrates makes it possible to refute the Sceptic's first objection. What Plato illustrates in the dialogues is not only a

method in philosophy, but also a method in education. Plato was concerned with the whole field of higher studies, and with the intellectual equipment required to criticise presuppositions and thus to think more adequately. Inevitably, this led him to undertake educational thought, in the stricter sense, as it affected the higher learning, and hence also to consider its necessary substructure in primary education. Much the same is true of other systematisers of human knowledge: Aristotle, Aquinas, Locke, Marx, and especially Dewey, who more than any of his predecessors asserted the centrality of educational thought: and of Rousseau who, though less systematic, was no less influential.

This the Sceptic might admit, but could still deny that educational thought is a distinctive and adequate category of thought in the same way that political or scientific or social thought is distinctive and adequate. Even if Plato and Rousseau and Dewey happened to write important treatises on education as a part of their own intellectual activities, the same cannot be said of the others. Aristotle, Aquinas and Marx scattered their observations widely among their works: Descartes, Leibnitz and Spinoza left the educational significance of their writings to be inferred by others. Locke entitled his own comments "Some Thoughts Concerning Education", as though any philosopher worth his salt could toss off a few observations on the subject almost as a piece of intellectual relaxation. Kant left his observations to be collected posthumously: Mill concentrated his into a single lecture; Spencer wrote four articles and, when they were published in one volume, modestly entitled it *Education*. For good measure, the Sceptic might add that modern analytical philosophers, with the notable exception of Professor O'Connor (1), do not appear even to regard educational thought as worth analysing, though this is becoming less true than it once was.

This objection is more weighty. To meet it, the point must be made that educational thought is not an isolated phenomenon. It is not only with Plato that general epistemology has educational implications. As Thut (2) points out, the Cartesian emphasis on mind-body dualism and on mind as an educable instrument of reason powerfully affected contemporary assumptions about mental training, in an age when for other reasons, themselves emerging through the history of educational thought, it was assumed that such training should be conducted through the classical languages and pure mathematics. Moreover, of the instances quoted by the Sceptic, Locke's work was in any case much more shrewd and important than its title

or arrangement suggest. Leibnitz (whose own failure to write explicitly about education has been duly noted by the Sceptic) actually regarded Locke's *Thoughts* as superior to the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (3). In this respect, at least, Kant stands with Plato and Descartes, for, as an editor of *Über Pädagogik* has put it:

The dependence of man upon the formative influences of experience constituted for Kant the chief reason for giving attention to the structure of that experience. It was thus that the careful elaboration of his theoretical views on the nature of science, philosophy, morality and art represents the great overflow of his interest in education into the basic channels of human speculation. The author of the Critical Philosophy herein becomes one of the few great men of history who have affirmed that there is a philosophical basis to a true pedagogy (4).

Mill, too, showed a lifelong theoretical and practical interest in educational problems; and so the list could be prolonged. Moreover, where the educational aspects of a system of thought were overlooked, often through ignorance or lack of experience rather than through contempt, the system itself could thereby be impoverished, just as Bacon's canons of the new method were limited in their value by his own lack of direct research experience. To the Sceptic, it can therefore be answered that there is a case for studying the history of thought as it influences education, irrespective of the explicit attention given by the great systematic thinkers to this influence, and that detailed consideration of the relation between general thought and educational thought constitutes a field of study in its own right, in the same way that the relation between general thought and political, or scientific, or social, thought constitute fields of study in their own right.

Other thinkers have moved in the reverse direction, approaching general thought by way of education. Perhaps the most important of these is Herbart, who was in his own day regarded as of the highest intellectual calibre. Like Kant, his predecessor at Königsberg (5), he was obliged to combine the study of pedagogy with that of philosophy in his tenure of his chair; unlike Kant, he entered into that part of his work with considerable zeal, for it constituted an extension of the direct interest in educational theory and practice which he had always maintained; and in this way he erected an edifice of pedagogy, psychology and philosophy which exercised an abiding effect on European thought. Later, it is true, when experimental psychology and Idealist philosophy overshadowed the other two aspects of his work, Herbart came to be remembered primarily as an

educationist, but in his heyday he certainly established the status of educational thought in the universities of Germany. A rather more pathetic figure is that of Comenius, whose struggle to erect a pansophic system grew out of, and was based essentially upon, his educational theories. In this, he was only the most eminent of a whole series of minor thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose utopian plans were based upon educational thought.

Here, the Sceptic may retort: Exactly! It is those thinkers who specialise in educational thought who fail to attain the first rank! But this does not invalidate the previous claim. Some specialise in the general, some in the more limited, field, and a few such as Dewey do both; yet they all help to build up the corpus of the subject. In any case, scientific thought is not regarded as inferior because Einstein's philosophising did not match his genius as a theoretician.

So far, it has been assumed that educational thought is something cerebrated by philosophers, whether they start from philosophy or (less successfully) from education. In order to provoke the Sceptic into his next move, it is necessary to point out that the writings of theologians, scientists, men of letters (6) and political theorists also have a claim to be included within the canon of educational thought. Sometimes, of course, thinkers in these categories have combined their special interest with philosophy, as in the case of Newman, Huxley, Coleridge, or Jefferson. Others did not. Gregory the Great, Luther and Wesley were not primarily philosophers, but they helped to mould educational opinion. Neither were Newton, Darwin or even Freud; but it would be a poor history of educational or any other thought which overlooked them. In the literary tradition, Erasmus, Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold and D. H. Lawrence, and among political theorists, Robert Owen, gave an impulse to educational thought which cannot be described as primarily philosophical. Is the Sceptic disposed to allow that these patterns of thought qualify as educational thought?

He might claim that this extension would debase the subject. If so, he would take his stand as a Platonist, appealing to philosophical thought as the highest form of thought. This he has a perfect right to do, but it involves dethroning literature, theology, and science, the queens of ancient, mediaeval and modern thought, and also politics, the abiding social interest of man. It would seem justifiable for even the Sceptic to allow a less rigorous definition and to concede that these types of thought are genuinely thought. Then, insofar as they affect education, they are genuinely parts of educational thought.

It now requires only one more move to establish the whole field of the subject as generally understood, within the province of academic study. But this last step will be the most difficult. It involves considering the Mulcasters and Pestalozzis, the Froebels and Montessoris, and all the others whose claim to inclusion rests on what they did rather than on what they wrote. Perhaps, indeed, it would have been preferable if some of them had written less or even nothing, for, as O'Connor says of their theoretical speculations (7):

Some were unsubstantiated conjectures, like Montessori's views on the training of the senses. Some, like Pestalozzi's doctrine of *Anschauung*, were unintelligible adaptations of metaphysical concepts. . . . Usually . . . these abortive theories were just glosses on fruitful innovations in educational practice. It was the practice that mattered.

Seizing on this somewhat chilly but not undeserved appraisal, the Sceptic will scornfully deny the claim of these doers to be regarded as thinkers. This may be education, he laughs, but it is not thought, not, at any rate, in the sense that the thoughts of philosophers are thought.

This must be conceded and, if the unity of the history of educational thought as usually conceived is to be preserved, a little ground must here be yielded to the Sceptic. So far, it has been assumed that the inclusion of a particular author, or trend, must depend on the generally-accepted assessment of the *quality* of thinking which is to be found there. If the "holy fog" of Pestalozzi, the mysticism of Froebel, or the warm-hearted good sense of Vittorino da Feltre are to retain their customary place, another criterion of inclusion is due to the Sceptic. It is that of appeal to *consequences*. A popular writer who chooses the appropriate moment to issue his manifesto may be more influential than a profound thinker whose message is unintelligible in his own age. The thought of Vico deserves inclusion in intellectual history on grounds of quality; that of Tom Paine also, because of its consequences; and for the same reason it is important to read Froebel.

At this point it is possible to formulate a definition of educational thought which is reasonably resistant to the Sceptic's charges. It is: *those aspects of thought and action which have influenced educational assumptions and practice.*

So, the Sceptic turns next to the first term in the title. He is unconvinced that the subject can be treated historically. Even in Western civilisation, where some historical continuity can be detected and within which virtually all man's significant educational thought

has been evolved, the story is patchy rather than continuous. There are outbursts of significant innovation in ancient Greece, in the Renaissance, in the Enlightenment, and in the early industrial age, but these are divided by long periods of quiescence and have now been superseded by the growth of specialist disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and child development, so that an attempt to construct a chronological unity, or to bring it down to the present day, must prove abortive. But in making this charge, he is in fact demonstrating the possibility of studying educational thought historically. These fluctuations, and the responses of educational thought to social and political change, are the essence of the subject and constitute its principal fascination, tempered only by the drawback of vastness which it inevitably shares with any other aspect of the history of thought. Where the Sceptic is on stronger ground is in his opposition to any attempt, such as Brubacher's (8), to break down the chronological sequence vertically into lines of development, for there is only one chronology.

The Sceptic now makes his final move. Admitting that perhaps there is a logical case for the existence of the history of educational thought as an academic discipline, he now queries whether enough scholarly work has in fact been conducted in this field to warrant the assertion that this discipline exists *in esse* as well as *in posse*. He looks through the volumes of the *Journal of the History of Ideas* and finds that educational thought is almost ignored there. He turns with his characteristic disdain to the educational periodicals, and finds little concentration of writing on the history of educational thought in any one of them. When he turns to books, however, he finds it less easy to prove his case. Since the days before 1914, when the history of educational thought had hardly begun to assert its independence, there have been scholarly textbooks and considerable critical and biographical studies. To mention only the material published in this country, one can trace a line of descent from R. H. Quick (9) through S. S. Laurie (10) and W. H. Woodward (11) to J. W. Adamson's *Pioneers of Modern Education* (12) and Sir John Adams' *Evolution of Educational Theory* (13) which, as a piece of creative scholarship, stands in a class by itself. After 1918 came the survey by W. Boyd (14) and the collection of brief but acute studies of the Great Educators by R. R. Rusk (15), followed by W. J. McCallister's comprehensive study (16) of the chronology of Western educational thought in terms of the growth of freedom. More recently, these have been supplemented by Curtis and Boultwood's textbook (17) which is perhaps the

most comprehensive introduction published in this country (18). Most of these have gone through more than one edition. Other books have been confined to one epoch, as in the case of W. Barclay's writing on the ancient world (19), H. M. Pollard's (20) on the early nineteenth century, and the symposium on English pioneers edited by Professor A. V. Judges (21), or to one subject, as exemplified by Professor H. C. Barnard's work on French theorists (22) or Professor E. B. Castle's *Moral Education in Christian Times* (23). Meanwhile, the long-established tradition of critical studies of individual thinkers has been maintained at a high scholarly level by writers such as W. F. Connell on Matthew Arnold (24), I. Cumming on Helvetius (25), Cyril Bibby on Huxley (26) and Kate Silber on Pestalozzi (27). If some other authors have been less intellectually impeccable, the subject can still assert its claim to be represented by its *melior et senior pars*.

So it may be claimed that the status of the history of educational thought as an academic discipline has been established, and at this point the Sceptic, who has quite enjoyed acting as devil's advocate and who has succeeded in introducing some necessary precision into the discussion, will withdraw.

III

His place will now be taken by the Tutor, whose principal concern is with the preparation of students in training colleges and university departments of education for their future vocation as teachers. He is himself a believer in academic excellence and a firm opponent of undue concentration on professional technique, for he is a Tutor and not a Master of Method, but he is anxious that the limited time to be spent on the study of Education in the one, or three, years at his disposal shall be well spent, and he is determined that any subject included in this study shall have demonstrable value for his purpose.

He wishes his students to be well motivated, well equipped, and well educated. With each of these desired characteristics in mind, he will enquire what the history of educational thought has to offer and, having considered each of them in turn, he will conclude by deciding whether, and at what levels, it should figure in his programme of studies.

First, in respect of motivation, he would like to know whether the history of educational thought will ennoble his students or render them more eager to undertake their task. He remembers the opinion of the doyen of English writers on the subject, R. H. Quick:

I venture to think . . . that practical men in education, as in most other things, may derive benefit from the knowledge of what has already been said and done by the leading men engaged in it, both past and present (28).

and considers the possibility that such knowledge may be uplifting. But Quick only goes part of the way with him. It does not follow that, where horizons are widened, morals will be improved. History can provide the raw materials for moral teaching, and can indicate how concepts or morality have arisen and in what ways they are relative to particular societies; but history cannot teach a positive morality, which must of necessity be based on extra-historical criteria.

Next, in his search for inspirational values, the Tutor may consider the possibility that his students will be impressed by the very length and richness of the chronology of Western educational thought. Will not the future staff of Coronation Street Junior Mixed and Infant School set about their task with greater zeal if they realise that they stand in the line of descent from Plato? That is an empirical question, of course, and in his less idealistic moments the Tutor would soon answer it himself. But the important point is that it rests on a false assumption. They do not stand in the line of descent from Plato, for there is no line of descent. There is only chronology, with some elements of continuity visible within it. To claim a line of descent is to take what might be termed the "Whig" view of the subject, as some American writers are prone to do, tracing the course of true education from ancient Greece to modern America.

There is a modification of this view according to which the advance is not continuous, but is dramatically associated with one chosen reformer:

God said, 'Let Rousseau be!'—and all was light, —or Froebel, or Dewey, according to taste. Not only is this view patently inaccurate, but it is also particularly dangerous for students in training; for there appears to be some psychological urge among the young, idealistic, but inexperienced and imperfectly-informed, to attribute the initiation of educational progress to one single knightly champion of childhood, a combination of St. Christopher with St. George, and thus to gain the inspirational advantages of marching under a banner while dispensing with the intellectual effort involved in appreciating its inadequacy. Unless students are capable of reading and thinking themselves beyond this caricature of the historical process, they are better off without any knowledge of the history of educational ideas at all, as, perhaps with regret, the Tutor will realise.

Of course, the Tutor may have a rather different ideological orientation, in which case he may wish to stress the history of educational thought because it can bring students into contact with ages in which the criteria of educational wisdom were different from our own, and in which the prevailing assumptions were such that it would seem improbable, and perhaps undesirable, that modern progressivism should emerge as the end-product. This is the reverse of the "Whig" view, and it may be convenient to describe it as a "Jacobite" outlook, tinged as it always is with an element of nostalgia for an irretrievable past. This nostalgia may be purely intellectual, or it may be more thorough-going. In the former case, the Tutor will look wistfully back to an age in which it was still possible for Education to be neatly and compactly fitted into a rounded yet comprehensible intellectual edifice such as Aquinas erected, or for a thinker to speculate romantically on child nature, as Rousseau did, regretting the absence of positive knowledge:

I wish some trustworthy person would give us a treatise on the art of child-study. This art is well worth studying, but neither parents nor teachers have mastered its elements (29).

yet secure in the knowledge that he had only to read a dozen or so books, most of which covered the whole field of Education, to span the ages dividing his day from Plato's, and could then walk in the woods, as the Tutor (and his students) might like to do even in this age when the serried volumes of *Child Development* stand in the library as an inescapable symbol of the extent of modern scholarship in this "art".

If, on the other hand, the Tutor's motives are more than intellectual, he may wish primarily for his students to see the appealing vision of other systems of thought and action at their zenith: Athens in the fifth century B.C.; Catholic Christendom; Renaissance Europe; Protestant Germany; Victorian England; or even the United States in the golden age of the frontier. All of these are associated with patterns of educational thought whose appeal has undergone a relative decline as the distribution of intellectual and social forces has altered.

But in either case, the history of educational thought as an academic discipline will disappoint the Tutor. One cannot recall the old world into existence in an attempt to redress the balance of the new. The course of ideas may be wayward, but it is always onward, and, just as it reminds the "Whig" that the river has not always

flowed, and need not continue to flow, in his favour, so it reminds the "Jacobite" that it never flows upstream. Like any other intellectual pursuit, the history of educational thought must reserve the right to tell its story in its own way, offering in turn a scrupulous fairness alike to "Jacobite" and "Whig", tradition and progress, Catholic and Protestant, Left and Right, teacher and child. Its only bias is a bias against oversimplification and in favour of presenting all the facets of the story, so that it may act as a scholarly counterweight against the fashions of the moment.

Being a scholar at heart, the Tutor will assent to this, no doubt. But he is not quite convinced that the subject is devoid of inspirational advantages. Could it not be, he asks, that it is in itself one of the most interesting and humanly appealing ways of approaching the study of education? This time he is right. Educators are people, and one reason for the almost universal adoption of the biographical approach is that case-studies of interesting people, set against varying cultural backgrounds, are capable of sparking off a discussion of all sorts of relevant issues, thereby enabling students to approach the more generalised and abstract aspects of educational study in a clearer and more purposeful way. This is worth having, even if there is no other inspirational value in studying the history of educational thought.

With this modest satisfaction, the Tutor now turns to the second, or instrumental, type of value. Will this study help to make his students better equipped? He is hardly likely nowadays to make the assumption, once prevalent, that because one of the Great Educators said or did something, it was thereafter stamped with the timeless mark of Authority. But he might plausibly maintain that the theoretical and practical advice given by the leading thinkers was *ipso facto* so sound and sensible that we could do worse than emulate them, irrespective of the historical period in which they lived. Now, in the argument with the Sceptic it became clear that the chronological organisation of the subject is fundamental to its status as an academic discipline, and in discussing the claims of the "Jacobite" approach the point has already been made that the sequence of thought-patterns which it studies is irreversible. Therefore any assumption of cultural equidistance is false. Social and intellectual climates and foreground, the age of Dewey and Montessori, that it is possible to draw any practical advice other than of the most general character. Quintilian cannot teach us our letters.

If he is sociologically inclined, the Tutor may next seize on another possibility. He has already scored a modest success in claiming that the biographical approach can be used to arouse interest. May it not therefore be that the same approach may help to give a realistic appraisal of the relation between individual ideas and social process? On the one hand it could provoke the lively effort of imagination required to re-think the thoughts of an innovator such as Comenius or Rousseau; on the other, it would be valuable training to work out why the different circumstances in which the two men lived and worked ensured that one of them should be forgotten for two centuries, and the other hailed in his own lifetime and subsequently as the author of a declaration of the rights of the child. This time the Tutor is entirely right. If he has students mature and capable enough to make a study of this sort even in the case of one or two thinkers or of one or two ideas, then it is well worth doing.

His sociological interest may also lead the Tutor to consider the history of educational thought as an instrument for analysing the contemporary landscape of educational opinion, within which his student will work. This landscape has been fashioned from successive sediments of educational ideas which have been differentially eroded by the passage of time, some proving more durable than others (30), rather like the scarps and vales of the English Midlands. A knowledge of the stratigraphy of these deposits, in terms of their history, facilitates acquaintance with the contemporary situation and also renders possible some prediction of its probable short-term development. At the same time, it affords a built-in check against undue rashness in this respect, for its own path is strewn with over-precise or grandiose attempts at prophecy which have been subsequently falsified by the sequence of events. In claiming this function for the history of educational thought, the Tutor is once again on firm ground; and this probably exhausts the list of instrumental values which he wishes to consider.

His third aim is to see that his students are well educated. Is it then possible that a study of the history of educational thought can exercise a cultural function and thus manifest an educational value over and above its more specific applications, that it is, in fact, "educational thought" in more senses than one? It must surely be beneficial for students to start from their everyday educational context and find themselves drawn into contact with the great minds of the past, just because the "habitual vision of greatness" can hardly fail to educate. And the continuity of educational thought with general thought

ensures that this enlargement of horizons must take place. If the Tutor looks around him at the leaders of educational opinion whom he has the privilege of knowing, he will observe that they have followed this road themselves, for they assume some knowledge of the Great Educators as a part of their universe of discourse. Moreover, some familiarity with the educational pantheon, especially in the writings of such delightful controversialists as Plato, Erasmus, Newman or Matthew Arnold constitutes excellent material for educational discussion and philosophical analysis, which cannot be conducted *in vacuo* and which often finds contemporary writing on education so much less interesting or humane. It is noteworthy that two of the more traditional among current text-books in philosophy of education, Ross's "Groundwork" (31) and Curtis' "Introduction" (32) both quote extensively from the leading theorists of the past in the course of their discussions. Thus it could almost be maintained that some knowledge in this field is a badge of the educated educator.

Here again, the Tutor is almost entirely justified. The only qualification is, that a study of the history of educational thought may itself raise doubts about the validity of an abstract "culture" which can be worn like a badge. If the Tutor's city of culture is built on the foundation of an esoteric elite with a literary education, then he may find that he has introduced a Trojan horse within its walls. But if he has a wider concept of culture than this, he will welcome the history of educational thought unreservedly for its educative value; and he probably has that wider concept, otherwise he would not be a Tutor.

Human interest; understanding of the intellectual and ideological landscape in contemporary education; appraisal of the conditions under which ideas are disseminated; and a part of the cultural education of the educator: all of these have been established by the Tutor as legitimate reasons for including the history of educational thought in his busy students' programme. Before he can do so, however, he needs to satisfy himself both that his students are capable of undertaking this study, and that it will benefit them more than if they spent a little longer on psychology or puppetry. This second question is one that the Tutor must answer for himself, for it depends on his own scale of values. But the first question is rather more open to public determination. For it is undeniable that the history of educational thought makes big demands on the memory as well as on the critical powers of students. The Tutor, being a humane and realistic man, acknowledges this with perhaps a trace of reluctance. Having considered the issues raised during the discussion with the Sceptic and

with himself, he may well feel inclined to make a decision along these lines.

First, he will appreciate that he and his colleagues, at least, will benefit from familiarity with it. If the students cannot all aspire to the necessary intellectual calibre, it is hoped that their tutors can, and that they may be relied on to avoid, for their students and for themselves, the dangerous half-truths that may result from a partial acquaintance with the development of educational ideas in the past. They will be cautious in invoking any one name, however eminent, or any one view, however fashionable, and will be particularly on their guard against the chronocentric arrogance castigated by Barzun when he refers to:

The contemporary assumption that a century ago or more, no one had sound ideas about teaching children, that no one was kind or applied "method" about his own subject . . . (33).

In addition, he may well feel that a few students, in postgraduate training or as a special option in the three-year course, may be able to specialise in this subject themselves. Some provision of this sort already exists, and more is planned. For this purpose, it is probably of particular advantage to centre the work on an extended essay which gives an opportunity for continued reflection on a problem or a thinker and for the use of this reflection as a focus for thought about contemporary education in general. If the Tutor happens to be concerned not only with the initial training of teachers but also with courses of advanced study, he is likely to regard the history of educational thought as a particularly suitable field for a combination of impersonal scholarship with reflection on personal experience, and for the attainment of a wider perspective by those who are becoming the educational leaders and thinkers of their own day. Finally, from among these he may be able to select a few to conduct research in this field which demands an unusually wide cultural and critical equipment from those who would extend its bounds; and these few will gain from their studies the additional satisfactions that arise from pure scholarship in any sphere. In all, the Tutor feels satisfied that the history of educational thought has a distinctive part to play in the work for which he is responsible, and he, too, withdraws.

IV

The Sceptic and the Tutor have served well as sparring partners. They have demonstrated that the status and value of the history of

educational thought, now that it has established itself as an independent academic discipline, require careful determination. It is a composite study, which draws on a considerable variety of human thought and activity at various levels of profundity. It is a difficult discipline, which makes extensive demands in terms alike of knowledge and of intellectual capacity. It is an area of study which can widen professional perspectives, but which can also be perverted to unscholarly ends. Whether it is considered as a means of developing well-motivated, capable and educated teachers, or as a field for higher study and research, it is now an indispensable part of the totality of educational studies.

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SCHOOL HISTORY TEXT-BOOKS AND THE COMMONWEALTH

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IN the past, when Great Britain had direct responsibility for governing many millions of African, Asian and West Indian subjects, we neglected to teach children in our schools anything substantial about the colonial peoples of the Empire. Africans and Asians were treated in our School History text-books merely as a colourful back-cloth for European exploits, and a chapter on Livingstone's career could contain no other reference to Africans than that "Livingstone won all the natives' hearts". This particular statement is notable, not only for its truth, but also because it is typical in that it gives the impression that Africans are important only for their relationship to Europeans. Text-books in general were silent about the ideas, feelings, economy, techniques, culture and history of colonised peoples. The achievements of India might be represented merely by a picture of the Taj Mahal.

The importance of the emergence of Asia and Africa is recognised in the higher levels of education. Universities are founding departments of African and Asian studies and planning to receive larger numbers of Commonwealth students. The Ministry of Education recognises the changing situation, and has issued a pamphlet (1961 No. 40) urging the schools to give more, and more enlightened, teaching about the Commonwealth. If the teachers respond to this suggestion they will find that they get little help from the available text-books. On Commonwealth matters these usually repeat with little alterations material which was traditionally taught fifty years ago.

It therefore would be useful to consider ways in which history text-books lag behind the needs and realities of the present, and for this purpose some books which are commonly used in schools have been examined, books varying from those designed for Secondary Modern classes to Grammar School library books which might be used by "A" level pupils.

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There can be no doubt that even good text-books reveal the arrogance of our imperial past and tend to create stereotypes of Asians and Africans as people who are inevitably and properly subject to European government and interests. The more enlightened and progressive of such books have expelled crude assertions of superiority, such as are implicit in the assumption that any European power has the right to take for its own higher purposes the lands and political independence of more backward or weaker peoples, but nevertheless in their language, if in nothing else, they reveal their certainty of European superiority in gifts and importance. The use of the word "native" is in itself revealing, and even the best text-books use it in ways which are not really permissible. Whether it is or is not permissible is largely a matter of style. As an adjective used, for instance, to describe "native courts", or "native territories" it is often innocuous. As a collective noun to describe peoples it is condescending. It is no use claiming that the word is an accurate description of the people who live in a place. Words have auras of association and values beyond their formal meaning. The word "native" is condescending to the point of denigration. We do not, when we are in France, describe the French as "natives" because we admit the individuality and dignity of the French and have taken the trouble to learn their national title. The fact that we use the word without any intention of being insulting makes the insult more general and significant, for it becomes racial instead of personal, and it is taken as such by the people of whom it is used. Its implication of savagery is underlined by the fact that several text-books refer to Indians as "natives" until the latter part of the 19th century, when they are developing Parliamentary institutions and asserting their claim to independence. At this stage in their history they are promoted to a national or religious denotation. It would be wrong to suggest that there is any brutality of attitude associated with the use of the word. It is always implicit, and sometimes explicit that one ought to be "kind to the natives". But there is indifference, a blank lack of curiosity as to the character and situation of the people to whom it refers.

There are some key points in the syllabus material traditionally included in school text-books which reveal racial attitudes with peculiar clarity. One of these is the British conquest of India and the Indian Mutiny, subject matter sufficiently remote from present controversy for us to be able to consider it dispassionately. We shall find that the superficial approach of the text-books to this material reveals

an indifference to the significance of Indian history which is often naïve and obtuse.

One Secondary Modern book, published by Ginn, by E. Nunn, *The Growth of the British Commonwealth*, in its 1958 printing gives the greased cartridges as the chief cause of the Mutiny, which in itself creates the impression that all Indians were superstitious savages. Another Secondary Modern book, the Oxford University Press *Building the Empire*, by C. M. Broadway, 1951 printing, treats the causes of the Mutiny in an equally superficial way, and has other faults as well, faults of complacency and definite misrepresentation. The Ginn book (which is in many respects an excellent text-book) admits the drastic loot of Bengal under British East India Company rule, whilst the O.U.P. book gives a very different impression by saying "British governors were shocked at finding so much bribery and injustice" in "native" governments, (p. 86) and it later states inaccurately that after the Mutiny "only the ringleaders were punished" (p. 92). In fact there were extensive and cruel reprisals, and this is common knowledge, even at school-book level. Dr Airey's text-book published in 1891, is explicit on this point. Collins' Secondary Modern book "*Our Commonwealth*" by R. W. Purton, published in 1958, gives its readers credit for being able to understand more subtle causes of the Mutiny, but it describes the course of the struggle with a stress which sacrifices accuracy to drama. The horrors of Cawnpore are of course included, and in the earlier part of Indian history, the "Black Hole" features largely, with an illustration, and without any of the explanations which rather soften it as an atrocity. Is it not time that the "Black Hole" and "Cawnpore" were dropped from the body of information which Sir Fred Clarke called "our national mythology"? It would be "fair" to put them in, if one also included some atrocities committed by the British in India, of which Indians can tell one some quite good examples, but it is surely better to exclude atrocities from text-books than to have parity in them.

Another verbal revelation of attitude is that in Ginn's book Sepoys who fought on the British side are described as "faithful", and in the O.U.P. book they are described as "loyal". One might indeed maintain that they were loyal to their army superiors and their military duty, but an Indian might say with equal justification that they were disloyal to their own people. One suspects that text-book writers do not use the word after thought on the various conflicting loyalties which a sepoy might be imagined to have experienced, but with the assumption that loyalty is always due to the British Raj. The good

Asian or African is the devoted and unthinking servant of the white man. Child readers will certainly gather this.

Omission of relevant information is always one of the main sources of distortion in history, particularly in a society like ours, which does not like misstatements of fact. The inclusion of traditional, nineteenth-century material of the kind just mentioned would be less important, and perhaps justifiable, if the books also contained positive, valuable information about India. This does not happen, and one might even argue that there has been some decline in this respect, for Ginn's book replaces the usual picture of the Taj Mahal with one of the Maharajah's elephants. It is a characteristic of historical writing for secondary modern pupils that in a desperate attempt to gild the historical pill animals feature more largely in the pages than "natives". Ginn's heading for Chapter XXIX is "British East Africa, the Land of Big Game". Surely, even in writing for children, one must face the intractable fact that history is about people? But one of the worst offenders in misrepresentation by omission is a grammar school book, the widely used *Modern Britain* by D. Richards, published in 1950. This seems surprising, for the publisher, Longmans Green, is well aware of the vast potential reading public of the Commonwealth and publishes history text-books for use in African schools. *Modern Britain* gives its readers an interesting, vivid, all-too-teachable version of Indian history in Chapter XXV. Its readers get some colourful drama of good old-fashioned vintage; they learn that "at the funeral of Ranjit Singh three widows and a couple of dancing girls were sacrificed". They learn about suttee and thuggism, and that "other kinds of human sacrifice were practised, and the killing of female infants was far from uncommon". They learn in connexion with the raids of Pundari tribes that "such was their cruelty that whole villages committed suicide to escape them". They learn about the "utter viciousness of the government of Oudh . . . when the people of neighbouring districts heard gunfire in Oudh, they knew that the king was collecting his taxes". They learn, without any other opinion being quoted or mentioned, that Macaulay advocated the teaching of English on the grounds that "a single shelf of a good European library is worth the whole literature of India and Arabia". And this is all they do learn about India before 1857. Typically, the only comment in the book to the reactions to the Royal Titles Bill by which Victoria became Empress of India, is to English, not Indian, reactions. Later on the story of Indian advance to independence is fairly told, but it must come as a surprise to thoughtful children who

had gathered from earlier pages that the Indians were a murderous and unprincipled lot of savages.

Another weakness of a number of text-books which deal with the most modern period of Commonwealth history is that they fail to bring this material up to date with each reprinting. Sometimes the errors which result from this would hardly be tolerated in a section of history which is treated more seriously than Commonwealth affairs. It leads to misinformation which must be mysterious to readers who are observant about current affairs, but ignorant of the circumstances of text-book publishing. For instance, the 1951 impression of the Macmillan text-book by I. Tenen, *This England 1714-1940*, ends its section on India with the words: "The other problem is how to adapt the government of India to modern ideas of self-government and democracy. The time has gone by when Indians were quite content to accept orders from British officials. But has the time yet arrived for complete democracy? . . . Millions of Indians simply would not understand what an election meant, and would be sorry to see the end of the British Raj" (pp. 278-279). The same book writes of Egypt "The present war has brought the British and Egyptians together, and the latter can hardly be sorry now that they failed to get rid of the British army" (p. 284). A text-book by C. M. McInnes published by Ginn, which is suitable for Advanced level work and given entirely to the subject, *British Empire & Commonwealth 1815-1949* makes grosser errors of the same kind. In a printing of 1960 it states of West Africa: "It is probable that Nigeria and the Gold Coast may in time attain some degree of autonomy . . ." (p. 349). We should note that these errors are not merely the effect of events overtaking reprintings. They are significant in that they reveal forecastings based upon an extreme underestimate of Indian and African ability to manage their own affairs.

As one would expect, text-book writing on Africa shows the most important deficiencies. One might criticise the test-book attitude to Indians, but at least they recognise the existence of Indians. Africans are largely ignored, and it cannot be argued that the speed of change provides a reasonable excuse for this. Thirty years ago every serious conversation amongst Europeans in the Union of South Africa began or ended on the subject of the colour question, and text-book writers have no right to adopt attitudes more trivial and ignorant than those of casual visitors or newspaper readers in the countries of which they write. But text-books written as recently as ten years ago dodge the issues of race entirely.

If we look first at Secondary Modern books we find that the O.U.P. book, *Building the Empire*, out of 12 pages given to the Union and the Rhodesias, gives only half a page of letterpress to the indigenous inhabitants. And what this half-page of letterpress contains is largely frivolous. First, on page 127, there are eight reasonable lines describing the peoples whom the Dutch settlers found at the Cape; there is, a page later, a mention of the freeing of slaves by the British; then, in connexion with the "Great Trek" it says "others woke for the last time to hear the shouts of half-naked Zulu warriors rushing to the attack" (p. 129). And finally there are four lines on the treaty Rhodes made with Lobungula. About this sticky bit of history the children are told; "Lobungula did not really understand what he had agreed to in the treaty, and was surprised when more and more white men came into his territory" (p. 132). The truth, but, inevitably, not the whole truth, and not a just summary of the whole truth. This is the last reference to Africans; the next four and a half pages deal with the Dutch/British struggle, ending with references to fruit-growing, the beauties of the Kruger National Park, interesting wild animals, snake-catchers and snake-bite serum.

Nelson's section on South Africa in the Third Storey of the *House of History* by M. Masefield, 1952 reprinting, is worse. Unlike most text-books it describes the first European colonisation without any mention at all of indigenous people. There is not a word about Africans until the "Great Trek", when there is a brief reference to "hostile natives", and some description of the conflict with the Zulus, including two references to treachery and massacres on their part. It tells the story of the founding of Rhodesia also without any mention of African inhabitants, so that the children could imagine the country to have been empty when Europeans entered it. It describes the Basutos as "Kaffirs". Perhaps it does mention the race question? One of its concluding paragraphs runs: "There still remain far more coloured than white men south of the Zambesi. Zululand is joined with Natal in the Union, and the Kaffirs live in Bechuanaland and Basutoland under the protection of the British and subject to the British governor" (p. 256). This is all, and it is difficult to see what light it casts upon the situation in Southern Africa.

Is a different attitude expressed in text-books published in the last five years? Collins' *Our Commonwealth* by R. W. Purton was first published in 1958. It edges a little nearer to African realities than "*Building the Empire*" does. It makes a statement which might be criticised on grounds of British complacency and for being incom-

plete and out of focus but which does reveal to the perspicacious reader that there is a race problem. "Gradually . . . the whole of Africa was opened . . . much of Africa still belonged to native rulers, tho' many of these sought the protection of Britain . . ." (p. 176). "There must be more understanding of each others' ways and customs, and unless black and white are prepared to give and take, situations arise like those in recent times in Kenya, and in South Africa itself" (p. 177).

These books present a bland Africa, sterilised of tension and conflict, as if the academic limitations of Secondary Modern pupils imply that they should be protected from the facts of contemporary political life. Only the Collins book shows an uneasy awareness of "problems". It uses the word quite often, but when we regard its treatment of "problems" we find that it sidles up to them in a nervous way, and when it comes within speaking distance it becomes confused, and retreats without having said an explicit word. So the poor children never learn what the problems are, although they are told that racial segregation "seems unfortunate".

Are the grammar school books more forthright?

Tenen's *This England* can give very little space to Commonwealth history, and its statements are little more than notes. But one might smile at the sentence "His [Rhodes'] visits to the Matabele and Meshaner laid the foundations of the colony which has been named after him" (p. 286). The word "visits" conveys a tea-party atmosphere of social amiability, and the reader would not guess that skilful power politics and a war were involved. The book gives three pages to South African history, in which it refers to Africans only to say that we "annoyed the Dutch by liberating slaves", that the Dutch had "trouble with the warlike tribes of the interior", and that we took control of "large native areas on both sides of the Dutch Republics" (p. 285). Every other word is devoted to European activities and the section ends with the sentence "British and Dutch intermarrying will build modern South Africa together, and build it well, if they remember Rhodes' last slogan 'equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi'" (p. 287). If ever a statement called for comment and elucidation, this one does.

Longmans Green's *Modern Britain* by D. Richards recognises the effective presence of the Africans in Southern Africa, at any rate until the defeat of the Matabele. Its readers will gather that it was a pity that the Dutch were not left in possession of their slaves "whom they treated reasonably well", and that the missionaries were the villains

of the piece, for they, "in their admiration for the native African, swayed the government at home against the Dutch, with most unfortunate results" (p. 380), and Richards explicitly adopts the view that Dutch expansion was desirable and that Lord Glenelg was wrong to oppose their annexations. This is perhaps a tenable point of view, but it is a controversial one to put in a text-book without indicating alternative attitudes. One of the many difficulties of writing history text-books is that whilst we all feel some distaste for the "on the one hand, but yet upon the other" kind of style which marks the decline of our imperial self-confidence, yet when a book takes sides in a controversial issue it arouses indignation in those who disagree with it. Richards is more direct in approach than Tenen. Although he assumes that African lands are the rightful spoil of Europeans, he says "When war broke out between the Company's settlers and the Matabele, spears and courage availed little against Maxim machine guns. On the defeat of the Matabele 200,000 of their cattle were distributed amongst the company's volunteers" (p. 384). A child can see the meaning of this, without the use of the word "robbery" and the whole picture is very different from that of Tenen's "visits". He writes that "the vital question of to-day is the Colour Problem" (p. 389), although he gives no information about the nature and effects of colour differentiation where it is practised in Commonwealth states. He shows no sense that African opinion can have any relevance to African history as it should be presented to British children, and his pages on tropical African concern themselves only with European exploration and jockeyings for position. The final sentence reads ". . . the defeat of Germany in the second world war has now rendered a reassertion of her claims" [the colonies] "impossible at least for the time being" (p. 395). This, inter-European, issue is, one gathers, the important thing. The significant evolution of African states to independence is not even mentioned.

It would be mistaken to give the impression that all text-books are similar in their attitude towards Commonwealth History. Edward Arnold published in 1949 a grammar school text-book by C. P. Hill, *Survey of British History 1783-1939*, which avoids the crudities I have been describing. It gives only a few pages to the Commonwealth, but these pages are serious and intelligent; they could form the subject of discussion in class, and would provide a key which would enable the pupils to understand much that is happening to-day. This book does not evade harsh truths. It writes "Whatever the motives, the extension of the British Empire involved

a series of small-scale, though often fierce, wars with native peoples, like the Zulu Wars of 1879 or the series of Ashanti Wars on the Gold Coast" (p. 204). It gives a political and social profit-and-loss account of the Empire "... It brought order and much real progress to backward peoples, attacking tribal warfare, the slave trade, barbarous native customs like ritual murders, and tropical diseases. . . . On the other side of the picture, imperialism meant the wholesale seizure of native lands, and wholesale exploitation of native labour on plantations and in mines. It meant disastrous interference with native religion and customs . . ." (p. 205). And it brings a new note into the traditional school histories of India by writing of the period 1856-1900 "Internally India was more or less at peace during these years, but it was a grim, sullen peace, with periodic famines and terrible poverty. The government made spasmodic efforts to conciliate Indian opinion, notably by the Royal Titles Act" (p. 215-16). This book is an exception; the others represent the general rule.

One might hope that the more advanced books, written for school libraries, or for "A" level pupils, would reveal a more scholarly, and sophisticated, philosophy than books designed for the under sixteen-year-olds. There are two books on the Commonwealth which are to be found in most Grammar School libraries, *The British Empire and Commonwealth* by C. M. McInnes, which has been mentioned earlier in this article, and W. R. Brock's *Britain and the Dominions* published by the Cambridge University Press in 1951. These books consist of 500 pages given entirely to Commonwealth history, but the teacher who goes to one of these two books, the one by McInnes, for information and enlightenment will find little except a fuller array of the facts which conceal as much as they reveal.

McInnes does indeed give a respectful account of Indian civilisation, but when he comes to retailing the history of the British in India he is as uncritical as a royal obituary in *The Times*. He mentions the "machinations" of foreign powers on the North West Frontier, but our own interventions to substitute rulers who supported our interests or to secure cessions of strategically important territory are not regarded as machinations. He complains that the Amirs of Sind were "truculent" for objecting to the passage of our troops through their territory, an odd use of an adjective in the circumstances.

His attitude to Africa is singularly insensitive. We have already noted his opinion that Nigeria and the Gold Coast would never be able to do more than achieve "some degree of autonomy", and we find a similar unawareness of African personality and promise

throughout his chapters on that continent. He describes African gains from European colonisation, such as the abolition of the slave-trade, but omits any account of the deprivations and humiliations which in areas of white settlement accompanied these gains. Many pages describe the politics of the Boer War but nothing is said at all of the Pass Laws, Land Apportionment Acts and the Job Reservation provisions of South Africa or Rhodesia. Would anyone argue that these are too unimportant to deserve mention? No information is given of tension in these countries, unless we count a vague statement that "the sudden precipitation of primitive people into the turbid stream of modern economic advance inevitably caused grave strains in the fabric of native institutions" (p. 399). His obliviousness to African interests is perhaps best shown by his statement, without any comment, that by 1946 South West Africa "had virtually become a fifth province of the Union, and, indeed, there was a widespread desire among the Europeans settled there that it now should be definitely incorporated in that country" (p. 331). No information is given of the nature of the Trusteeship obligations which the Union of South Africa had undertaken and disregarded. No statement of the opinion of the six sevenths of the population who were not European, and who certainly did not want to be incorporated in the Union. The young reader would be left with the impression that the absorption of South West Africa was just and proper.

In contrast with McInnes, Brock's book is serious and thoughtful, although he accepts the tradition that the history of the Commonwealth must be the history of the whites who wield power, not of the blacks and browns who suffer it. But it does contain some real discussion of the moral and political issues of Empire; it gives some description of the nature of colour-bars and their meaning of Africans and it shows interest in the future of colonial peoples. An African reader would probably point out with justice that it shows extraordinary ignorance of the tensions in the Rhodesians, and that it adopts a "Delamare" view of Kenya which is unexcusable in view of the writings of Colin Leys. But we can say that if it errs in specific points it does so rather from deficiency of information than from an arrogant philosophy.

It is always easy to make destructive criticisms, but more important to make concrete proposals for improvements. Ideally, reform demands the writing of new books, but much could be done by minor additions and emendations.

A simple limited, reform would be to revise the books before re-

printing in order to alter language, which betrays imperial assumptions and prejudices, and to make minor alterations of fact, comment, and choice of illustrations. But other, deeper reforms are necessary, involving examination of the philosophy of teaching about the Commonwealth. We need to replace the complacent, insular apotheosis of a conquering and expanding national group with a conception of humanity which attributes importance to the interests and ideas of other races. We must recognise, for instance, that the important factor in the history of Southern Africa is not the personality of Cecil Rhodes, nor the details of the fighting and settlement of the Boer War, but the development and future of Africans and their relationship with Europeans. If we are to congratulate ourselves, it must not be on the extent of our conquests, still less with the flattering belief that people enjoyed being conquered by us; it must be on the grounds that in many areas where we have ruled we have introduced the inhabitants to modern techniques of production and government, and have relinquished power when the people were able to operate it themselves.

It is not necessary to postulate an unattainable ideal of "unbiased" history in order to teach a generous and intelligent attitude to other races than our own. Historians inevitably select from the vast archives of the past material which has some particular use or significance for the society to which they belong, and children in Great Britain do not need to learn history similar to that which should be taught in Africa or India. But we need to choose material which will enable children to accept members of other races as their equals and to give them stereotypes of Africans and Asians as people possessing dignity, intellect and power.

Nor is it necessary to introduce large quantities of African or Asiatic history into overcrowded syllabuses. Asia presents a difficult problem to those who design school history syllabuses, and one which it is impossible to discuss here. With regard to Africa the problem is simpler. We do not need to give a great deal of time to the teaching about African history because it would be absurd to conceal the fact that Africans were backward when Europeans discovered the continent, and the study of backward peoples has only limited value for schoolchildren. But text-books could remind children that the British were backward when the Romans found them, and pretty backward at the time of the Norman Conquest. A chapter which examined one African area, such as Benin, and compared Benin life and art with that of an earlier stage of British history would do much

to dispel intellectually based conceptions of European inherent superiority. If history text-books gave more attention to the choice of illustrations (many are casual in this matter) much could be done without expenditure of words. For instance, photographs of the great iron-age African ruins of Naletali, with their magnificent decorated walls, or the gold works of art discovered at Mapungubwe, would speak for themselves.

One major change of attitude is essential for the text-books. They should inform about the graver problems of the Commonwealth. Why is it assumed that children ought not to know about such things as conflicting white/black interests in African areas of European settlement, or our government's obligations and difficulties in the Protectorates of Southern Africa? Why are secondary modern pupils in particular singled out for a diet of undiluted soothing-syrup? Are these issues politically too hot for text-books to handle? If they are, what is the history-teacher to do? Is he to teach merely about hunting wild animals and fluff the real issues with blanket-soft phrases about "the need for understanding" without any information about what, precisely, has to be understood? In fact we know that teachers do try to teach about the serious issues. Why do they receive so little help from the text-books?

The writers and publishers of text-books carry a heavy responsibility. One must assume that children are influenced by what they read in their school-books, which have for them the authority which the written word has for the uneducated, and the authority which comes from presentation in school. It is therefore essential that history-text-books should be designed to serve useful and creditable purposes, and that they should be constantly modified to keep pace with the changing circumstances and needs of society.

(This article was submitted to the publishers concerned, and their replies showed their awareness of the problems involved, and an anxiety that text-books should promote desirable social attitude. The writer recognises that economic problems make it difficult to maintain suitable history-text-books on contemporary subjects.)

TRENDS IN ENGLISH TEACHING

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(This is the first of a series of articles which will appear from time to time on trends in the teaching of various subjects, particularly at secondary level)

I

ATTITUDES towards the English teacher in school have changed over the past two hundred years (1). Originally he was nonexistent—it was felt that no one need teach the subject; later, that the only appropriate person to do so was the classics specialist; then, that every teacher should be a teacher of English; and soon (by a convenient misinterpretation) that any fool could teach English. Now it is recognised that the subject requires a professional, though the mistaken assumptions in some of the other views have not disappeared completely. This is one reason that far too many teachers without the appropriate equipment are "doing a bit of English"; and yet the English teacher has by far the most important single responsibility on a staff, and this responsibility continues to grow. It is all the more necessary therefore to examine the way his subject is developing, and to consider which parts of it should be given the most emphasis.

II

The general influences on English teaching are many. Psychology has drawn attention to the hidden processes from which creative work springs, and their importance in development. It has furthered the view of the child as the centre of education, with a consequent modification of the subject matter taught. The theory of learning, and particularly *gestalt* psychology, has modified very considerably methods of teaching reading, and it may well have had a great, though indirect, effect on the conception of English regarded as a *whole*, and not as a series of unrelated elements. The belief that these elements could well be taught separately since they would cohere in the pupil's mind received a severe blow, particularly in the item of grammar teaching, when the doctrine of the transfer of training was shown to be largely without foundation.

That English is a whole, that language and literature are inseparable, these are truisms. It is therefore incongruous to find a very powerful influence working in the opposite direction—the external examinations system. The effect of this is to divide the subject into two—language and literature—with no connexion. Further, there is the splintering effect within the language paper, in that small isolated passages are presented for précis and comprehension. The context, which in life is available to anyone who has to summarise and comprehend, and which provides important clues to the meaning, is absent. And thus it is absent from the vast majority of text-books used to prepare students for these examinations; by a familiar process the testing instrument becomes the teaching instrument. The examinations system in English is at once a disintegrating and a conserving force; disintegrating in the outlined, conserving in the sense that reflects conventional thought and taste of many years ago—in its predilection for grammar and romantic poetry, for instance (2).

A third important influence is that of the mass media. The reactions towards these have been overwhelmingly hostile, for fairly obvious reasons, not all of which are rational. The English teacher as custodian of the literature enshrining values sees a rival: “truth driven alive into the heart by passion” may seem to have been superseded by “passion driven alive into the heart by Cliff”. And again the English teacher, as advocate of the written word, is alarmed at the predominantly visual methods of communication which the new media employ. Above all he is alarmed by their success. Thus has come into schools the teaching of “discrimination”, which is in effect discrimination *against* the media, that is a largely negative, disinfective process. On the other hand there are those teachers who see in the media great opportunities, and who see the opportunities are greater than the dangers.

In particular has this been the view of some teachers educating those pupils whom the social revolution and the 1944 Act have brought into secondary schools. These pupils have been a further important influence. It is their needs in particular which have caused a good deal of reconsideration of English teaching since the war; and it is here and in the primary schools, rather than in the grammar schools that much of the significant thinking has been done. The grammar schools have not felt compelled to examine their assumptions in the same way since they have had a traditional academic curriculum to follow. Nevertheless the plight of many a pupil in the third stream and below suggests that such an examination might not be

inappropriate; and not only in those streams, for there is only one type of child—the human; and one cannot conceive a *fundamental* need in one group of children which is not the need of all children everywhere.

III

The story of the H.M.I. who found an English time-table divided into Composition, Grammar, Language, Comprehension, Drama, Poetry—and English, leads one to be wary of the conventional divisions of classroom English. Nevertheless some such headings as these will provide a means of organising what follows as long as it is borne in mind that they are merely convenient.

Composition. In composition teaching there has been a general recognition that a writer creates only out of experience, real or imaginative. And thus there has been a good deal less emphasis on techniques than formerly, and a good deal more on the enrichment of the child's world. Thus literature, music, art, visits and occasions, objects rare curious and everyday, sense impressions of touch, taste and smell, have been used to stimulate creative activity. The results may well bear no direct relation to the immediate stimulus, but to an earlier one; or may come from a general awakening of children's interests. Motivational factors are recognised as important, and the relationship of these to the reinforcement. Thus there has been an attempt to instil purpose into composition which is not merely that of pleasing the teacher or of getting a higher mark. Philip Hartog, as long ago as 1908 in *The Writing of English* (O.U.P., 1908), advocated the direction of work towards a known audience, and Peter Gurrey in *The Teaching of Written English* (Longmans, 1954) developed this idea considerable on a parallel with the adult world where normally the writer writes with a purpose for an audience of some kind.

Thus, coinciding with the recognition that all writers, whether Third Form or Third Programme, create in the same way, has come a wider use of more realistic forms of composition, and a more realistic vocabulary—not "essay" but article, report, survey, etc. An audience is presupposed, even if it is only an audience of form mates, and the complete work "published". Thus articles on a common theme may be bound up in a "compilation", an anthology of verse or short stories produced, a form magazine circulated, a play written and enacted. Schools have produced their own books, sometimes printed on the school press. There has been an increase in ex-

tended written work at all levels, stimulated by such text-books as J. N. Britton's *English on the Anvil* (Foyle's Educational, 1934) where there are suggestions for compositions over a period on a common theme of "Adventure Island", the idea itself however going back to Caldwell Cook's *Play Way* (Heinemann, 1917). A similar device is exploited in Cedric Austin's *Read to Write* (Ginn, 1954), the four books of which are based respectively on a diary, serial stories, a magazine, and a newspaper. The writing of a novel, usually in picaresque but sometimes in classical form, is part of the curriculum of some middle school forms.

In such writing discipline is implicit in the purpose and form chosen. In contrast is the "free writing" in which both elements in the above sense are absent. The interesting work done by Dora Pym at Bristol, and recorded in *Free Writing* (U.L.P., 1956) has brought about a good deal of experimenting up and down the country. An evocative object, sound, sensation, is offered to the pupils without comment, the aim being to stir associations so as to launch them on a piece of imaginative writing without formal restraints. This has been found very useful with children who have been inhibited by other methods of composition; but in addition it has often struck out ideas and images of great beauty, especially when the *stock* responses to the stimulus have been worked through. A limitation is that the children can only respond within their limits; the stimulus releases rather than supplies experience. Nevertheless in conjunction with other methods of composition it has considerable value and its use could well be extended.

One advantage claimed for free writing is that it may have therapeutic properties—that it is a means whereby inner conflicts are solved and pressures released, so that growth and development may take place. In *The Education of the Poetic Spirit* (Heinemann, 1949) Marjorie L. Hourd discerned this process taking place; and again in *Coming Into Their Own* (Heinemann, 1959) written with Gertrude Cooper. And one finds a similar view of David Holbrook's *English for Maturity* (C.U.P., 1961). This is one example of the effects of psychology upon English teaching, for in this approach the influence of the psycho-analysts is clearly present. The teacher himself is no psycho-analyst, and an exercise book is not a case book. Nevertheless it would be foolish to ignore the fact that such processes are taking place in all writing where the writer is really involved, and that these processes are beneficial for development. Marjorie Hourd and Gertrude Cooper juxtapose children's written work with brief biographical

cal details, and whereas nothing can be said with certainty in individual cases it is clear in general that there is a close and deep relationship. In all such work the basic assumption is that change and development in English presupposes change and development in the person.

Coming Into Their Own is in part an anthology of children's verse writing. It is one of several books of this kind which have been published recently, which demonstrate the quality of children's verse and prose, its freshness of vision, its flashes of insight. Others are *Young Writers*, *Young Readers*, edited by Boris Ford (Hutchinson, 1960), *Children as Writers* (Daily Mirror, 1961), *And When You are Young*, London Association for the Teaching of English (Joint Council for Education Through Art, 1960) and *English in Education*, Ch. I (Chatto, 1962). The integrity of such writing is in sharp contrast to much of the adult commercial product.

Movements such as "free writing" lay more stress on the emotional and subjective rather than the intellectual and objective life. Indeed one deficiency in composition work lies in the use of information. Some years ago Whitehead criticised the excessively factual content of education; in English the criticism seems to have been taken far too much to heart, for one often finds the unconscious assumption that whereas in other subjects one needs to *know* things in order to be able to write, in English one just needs to be able to write. In the secondary modern school, by means of integrated schemes, and projects, children are set to seek out information, to come to terms with it, and to use it for a purpose. In the grammar school, partly, but only partly because of the rigidities of the timetable, "research" for (say) a middle school essay is less common; though the Inspectorate insists from its cage, a little desperately: "The pupil needs something to write about. . . ." See *Language: Some Suggestions* (H.M.S.O., 1954), p. 70.

The recognition that children should write in quantity has brought with it more rational approaches to marking, especially in the light of research findings on the high degree of reliability of impression marking (3). The old analogy of teacher as proof corrector still persists, but there is increasing use of schemes where only one or so paragraphs is marked in detail, the rest by impression; where one marks in detail only every third composition; where one marks only for the qualities the composition was set to develop. These are hopeful signs for nothing is more deadening—and inefficient—than the correction of every single mistake (with GRowls and SPits from out-

raged symbols in the margin). But here progress has not been made very quickly; as long as forty years ago, in *The Teaching of English in England* (1921), complaints were being made about over heavy methods of correction. A good deal of work has been done in this field, but this has concentrated on marking for examinations, and not as a teaching device (4).

Reading. The old method, of "reading round the class", is now thoroughly discredited. Basically it was an attempt to teach everything—reading aloud, clear speech, vocabulary, comprehension, the enjoyment of literature—and thus succeeded in teaching nothing. It drew no distinction between different types of reading of the kind which is common to-day; reading intensively, reading extensively, or reading for information where "skipping" is an appropriate skill (see, for instance, P. Gurrey, *Teaching the Mother Tongue in Secondary Schools*, Longmans, 1958). In other words it failed to recognize the principle of subordination which applies to reading under normal circumstances whereby the trained reader varies his pace and depth according to the requirements of the material.

And yet the old method was not completely senseless. It recognised that individual words, sentences, paragraphs, existed in a context, the context of the whole book, and that they were incomplete in meaning without this. Yet the passages commonly used to teach "comprehension" to-day far too often lack context; they are brief and isolated, and thus more difficult and less interesting than they need be; self-centred, introverted, inferior little passages. There are however some course books which contain passages of reasonable length and quality, which, while disciplining the reader in comprehension, also point outwards and onwards by their intrinsic interest, and by means of appended suggestions for further reading. The growing method of teaching comprehension by concentrating on particular passages in books which are being used for extensive reading has much to commend it.

A second disadvantage of conventional comprehension exercises is that the questions concern only the "sense" of the words. In the famous *Practical Criticism* (1929) I. A. Richards distinguished four types of meaning—sense, feeling, tone, intention, distinctions which were applied for classroom use in Denys Thomson's *Reading and Discrimination* (Chatto, 1934). Nevertheless the appreciation of words in their fullness still seems to be lacking in general. In a very interesting piece of research (5) E. L. Black found that training college students persistently went astray when called upon to respond to for

instance irony and the use of metaphor (their failure to appreciate the force of context was also a source of error). Certainly however the extension of the techniques of practical criticism must be counted one of the gains of recent years. Nevertheless they are not free from dangers if used negatively. Indeed in *The Abolition of Man* (Geoffrey Bles, 1947) C. S. Lewis severely criticised the use of such techniques with children, even on a bad travel advertisement, on the grounds that this was the shortest way to atrophy the feelings and produce an all-pervading cynicism.

For extensive reading the introduction of a regular "silent reading period", or library period, has become common. During this the children proceed at their own pace through books the choice of which is usually guided in some way. One practice is for class readers to be ordered in say 5 sets of 6 rather than 1 set of 30, the children changing amongst themselves. The institution of such a period has become all the more necessary in view of the limited opportunities for reading in many homes to-day; books once started may be finished at home; not so books never started. . . . In the movement to child-centred teaching, requiring the adaptation of material to the needs of the child, the English teacher was faced with a problem which is not yet solved. For the English classic novels were not really capable of adaptation; they seemed to exist complete or not at all. Attempts at shortened or simplified versions have been made, and have put a good deal of money into publishers' pockets, but can scarcely be said to be satisfactory. The present view is that, for pupils below a certain age, the established classics are in any case unsuitable for a variety of reasons; and there has recently been an improvement, both in the quality of writing for children, and in the appropriateness of the general books they have been given to read; further school books are beginning to look more like "real" books. There is a good deal of advice available to teachers in this matter (6). These are hopeful signs, especially since reading is a prerequisite to writing. Strangely enough, therefore, it is only recently, as far as one is aware, that an English language book centred on a work of fiction has been produced—*Creative Writing*, by G. Taylor (Ginn, 1960), of which the first volume for example uses Rosemary Sutcliffe's *The Eagle of the Ninth*.

The great claim for literature is that it communicates values and truly cultures the feelings. The latest embodiment of this article of belief in this field of education is in William Walsh's *The Use of Imagination* (Chatto, 1959): "of all studies (he writes) that of litera-

ture is the discipline which most intimately affects the character of a person's self, which most radically and permanently modifies the grain of his being" (p. 10). This claim for literature is traditional, and was made as distinctly by Plato as by Walsh. It is a claim which professional students of literature have an interest in maintaining; yet there are signs of dissent on two grounds—first on the grounds of the exclusive nature of the claims made for literature (as though there were no other ways of experiencing and of interpreting experience); and second that the impact of literature may not be by any means so great as is claimed. The public rancours and hatreds of great literary critics are pointed to as strange evidence of the civilising influence of great literature; children can doubtless do better! Yet (it is said) work in the fields of learning and communication is not without relevance. It would seem likely that the most important influence on one's attitudes is that of other people; that the visual media have a reasonably strong influence; that for most the written word comes rather low down; that the degree of abstraction in the written word makes it much harder to come to terms with. These are findings which seem to indicate that conditioning, not understanding, is the fundamental means by which attitudes are learned, and thus it is possible the repetitive and continuous processes of the mass media have a greater influence than the book. Judging from television it is suggested that any particular work of "art" is likely only to have a very temporary effect; that effects (except with disturbed personalities) only make minor modifications in the person, and that new attitudes are rejected completely if they conflict with the social *mores*; that "art" is only one of the very many factors modifying the self of the average person. Such research is not relevant in that, in the last resort measures cannot be applied in such matters. But, it is said, there are resorts before the last, and lessons to be learnt; the rewards of literature can certainly be great, but the normal and discoverable processes of human learning and ability are not irrelevant to the attaining of them.

The mass media. Two counts on which the mass media are criticised are that they use words unworthily; and that they don't use words. On the first count—since the 1930's a good deal of work has been done in schools on the "appeal" of advertisements, inspired by *Culture and Environment*, F. R. Leavis, and Denys Thompson (Chatto, 1934), and on the tendentiousness of newspaper reports (a common exercise is to compare two or three reports of the same event from different papers). This work is seen as being even more

necessary to-day when attempts to influence the public have all the resources of motivational research behind them; and books such as Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders* have been introduced into the classroom. The "second" message of the advertisers is regarded as particularly debasing to the emotions. On the other count—here there is concern that an increased use of the visual media marks a "retreat from the word" and that children will be deprived of their heritage of words, and all this implies for self-realisation. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was made flesh": "let them illustrate that, if they can," writes David Holbrook in *English for Maturity* (C.U.P., 1961), p. 38.

On the other hand one finds a positive approach to certain of the mass media. Radio has never come under the condemnations accorded to the cinema and television, partly because it deals in words and, may encourage a sensitive response to them, partly because it has been used in this country with great responsibility. It is the irresponsibility with which film and television are exploited by the speculator which excites much hostility to them. The English teacher has increasingly used educational material from all three media during recent years. Radio has been found particularly suitable for spoken English, poetry, and composition; television for drama (7); and there are slowly coming along now film-study extracts from classic films of Shakespeare plays (8). Inspiration for English work has been found in broadcast programmes of all kinds, and in such activities as film-making (9). The evidence suggests that the imaginative experience, whether in visual or oral terms, has nevertheless a beneficial effect on the literacy of children, by raising interest, quickening response, providing ideas and experience. The great number of records of spoken English now available has increased the resources of teachers in bringing first class poetry reading and drama to his pupils.

Formal work. In general formal work is less fashionable than it was. It is no longer possible to assume automatic transfer of training from formal exercises to writing; and the emphasis has been on the teaching of technical points as they arise, and in their context, with a concentration on copious reading and writing. Until recently there has been little evidence on this, but W. G. Heath's study (10) suggests that children taught in this way maintain at least equal progress in usage, vocabulary and sentence structure as judged by formal tests, and that their ability in spelling, reading and written expression will be significantly greater. Only in punctuation did he find that the teaching of some basic facts was necessary, but no evidence that

exercises encouraged greater accuracy in punctuation than did extensive reading.

Grammar in particular has taken a beating in recent years. It is not now respectably held that it "trains the mind" (though the belief still persists) and it is only possible to think that grammar, as normally taught, has any beneficial effect on written composition, in defiance of the evidence (11). Certainly there has been a decline and deterioration in its teaching in the last thirty years, arising largely from confusion and lack of conviction on the part of the teacher. The secondary modern school commonly does not teach grammar on the grounds that its pupils find its abstractions too difficult and meaningless, and that the time required is disproportionate to any gains which might be thought to accrue. A good deal of grammar school opinion would reject it on similar grounds were it not for the examinations; it is also argued that, in those functions where grammar has not been proved useless—the correction of errors, and the transfer to the teaching of modern languages—there are more efficient ways of dealing with the problems. The social argument for grammar—that one needs to know it because every one else does so—whilst leaving one with dreadful apprehension in case the conversation at a dinner party takes the wrong turn, is nevertheless the feeblest of defences.

However, under the influence of the growing study of linguistics, such as set forth in C. C. Fries *The Structure of English* (Longmans, 1959) there is to be noted a more rational approach to grammar. In *Learning and Teaching English Grammar* (Chatto, 1956) by Hunter Diack, and *Teaching English Grammar* (Longmans, 1961) by P. Gurrey there is agreement that grammar, *in the form customarily taught*, is indefensible. A new approach is required which shall consist of the study of language in use. Gurrey suggests that the appropriate analogy is that of a field study, of language as used in real life contexts, with meaning as the criterion; pitfalls of the older grammar—verbalisation, lack of application, and the absolute nature of categories—must be avoided. Under these conditions, it is argued that there is still a place, and an important one, for grammar in schools. It might be an advantage if the term "grammar" were abandoned altogether if the subject is to progress, and some less controversial description adopted, though it may be that teachers will still be reluctant to teach it from considerations of time alone; Gurrey speaks of "a fairly full course of grammar that is part and parcel of an intensive language study, covering several years" (p. 114).

Speech and Drama. In 1921 the Board of Education in *The*

Teaching of English in England quoted, apparently with approval, the suggestion that "children should be read to rather than talked to to save them from the meagre vocabulary of the teacher" (p. 67). The "teacher" was an infants teacher; even so one notes the distance that has been travelled, with the teacher nowadays required to provide a model for many things, including good speech and vocabulary. At the same time the Board also advocated phonetics and "bilingualism". The teacher of to-day may wonder idly what sort of split personalities this produced whilst being thankful that the problem is no longer present in quite such an acute form. The growth of communication has brought a smoothing out of regional variants, and an accompanying acceptance of many forms of standard English; and this tendency will clearly continue. The audio-visual media have brought patterns of acceptable speech to all ears, and render the spoken word even more important than when printing or writing was the only means of communication at a distance. Speech work in schools concentrates, not on formal "speech training" with accent a prime consideration, but on clarity and coherence. It is recognised that speech is the symptom of the person, and that emotional as well as intellectual factors play a large part in forming it. A living speech tradition in a school (developed by lecturettes, debates, discussions, drama, reading and speaking competitions, school festivals and eisteddfodau, the use of tape recorders for "radio productions", etc.) is seen as the best way of making progress in this direction. Certain Boards have instituted examinations in spoken English.

In drama one detects two fundamental positions; the one Platonic, that drama is a communication of values; the other, the Aristotelian, that it provides a katharsis of some kind. It is this second that has received most emphasis in recent years. Just as the nourishing analogy for much composition work has been psycho-analysis, so for this drama has been group psychotherapy of the kind associated with the name of the Viennese psychiatrist J. L. Moreno (12). Moreno developed "psychodrama" whereby a patient acted out his "sociodrama" whereby a group of people acted out a situation common to them as members of a society. This has become a normal drama technique in many American High Schools; situations (known one, perhaps involving colour, an interview, a quarrel over money between a husband and a housebound wife, a discussion between parents and children over smoking or pocket money, and so on (13).

Students play parts different from those they would have in real life.

In this country a drama with similar characteristics has been developed, to some extent independently, by Peter Slade and the Educational Drama Association. Here the starting point is play, in which children gain both a katharsis and an understanding of themselves and others and of the objective world. Common to both movements is the idea of role-playing, an idea which proverbial wisdom expresses as to "put oneself in the other man's shoes". Slade's *Child Drama* (U.L.P., 1954) and *Introduction to Child Drama* (U.L.P., 1958) erect the personal play of children into a dramatic theory. A similar movement is Dance Drama described in *Leap to Life*, by John Wiles and Alan Garrod (Chatto, 1957) (14). This type of work has many aspects but they all involve spontaneous creation on the part of the children individually and as members of a group, whether what is being created is a movement or a dance to music, a mime, a play to a given story, a play evolved by discussion in groups, a "standard life situation". The limitation, that children have no model or inspiration greater than themselves, as in great drama, is clear; but this work has its own virtues, even if the claims made for it seem sometimes exaggerated (for group activity of almost any kind is valuable therapeutically).

One's impression is that the movement has made good progress with younger children up to 12 or 13, less with older (and more so with girls than boys). It is to be found in the secondary modern schools, but not often in the grammar schools, for by tradition such schools are dedicated to the classic dramas. There these plays are often studied as "texts"; and it is clearly impossible to act them all (indeed the attempt to treat pupils as potential drama school candidates has sometimes had unfortunate results). Nevertheless parallels from stage practice have proved fruitful; and a discussion of individual lines, passages, scenes in terms of the emphasis, gesture and action required to produce them is an excellent way of arriving at their meaning. A. K. Hudson's *Shakespeare and the Classroom* (Heinemann, 1954) is perhaps the most useful approach on these lines. As far as the plays used are concerned there is a general widening of scope. School editions of Shakespeare in unbowdlerised form are now being introduced (15). The repertoire of plays used for both performance and class has broadened: miracle and morality plays are now commonly to be found and the availability of paper backed translations has introduced Greek tragedy into the main school in a number of cases (though there have always been exceptional

schools with a great drama tradition where they have been used for a number of years) (16).

Poetry. The teaching of poetry would seem to be the aspect of English where least success has been obtained; certainly judging for the smallness of the adult market for verse. It is a regular part of the curriculum everywhere, and the teacher is unwilling to agree that the appreciation of poetry is a quite rare special aptitude, requiring "a high degree of specific sensitivities . . . in conjunction" (17) as suggested by research, and that the person without this is in the position of a tone-deaf listener to music. Yet this may well be the case; certainly as a means of understanding and interpreting experience poetry has failed for the majority of people, for whom the novel, the radio or television play, or the film are significant.

The reasons for this state of affairs are not easy to discover: The Ministry blames first of all the "long supremacy of Latin" (*Language*, p. 141), but, although one might permit oneself to say with caution that this supremacy was singly the most disastrous process that ever occurred in English education, it is perhaps rather late in the day to lay the blame there. Possibly much of the trouble lies in inadequate teaching, for poetry is the most difficult of all subjects to teach (despite some excellent books on methods (18), and in unsuitable material, as well as in the built-in distrust of many pupils.

One notes moves to dispel this distrust. There is an attempt to convince the pupil, especially in grammar school, and especially the boy, that the subject is intellectually worthy of his attention, that there is a discipline in it in some ways like the discipline in (say) mathematics, that an objective treatment is possible which will require a personal response, but will not demand a public display of private emotion (the blackmail of the "do you like it? say why" approach has done a good deal of harm with adolescents conscious of their emotions). Another such move is that to lift poetry from the page, especially with younger children, by requiring participation—reading, choral speech, enactment, singing, and "recitals". A landmark in school anthologies was *The Poet's Tongue* (Bell, 1935); and it is interesting to note how many poems in Book I are suitable for, and indeed demand, this sort of participation.

The editors of that anthology avowedly set themselves to dispel the prejudice that poetry was always dressed for church; and that it was primarily an escape from reality. In their collection the remedies respectively were: an enlargement of the conception of what poetry was; and an avoidance of certain periods of writing. Thus they in-

cluded folk songs, nursery and broadsheet rhymes, sea shanties, ballads, carols, spirituals; they avoided Romantic poetry, and subsequent poetry in that style. Thus their volumes were in marked contrast to others of the time (19). In the best anthologies published since both these trends have continued. Research into what James Reeves, in the title of a notable book, called "the idiom of the people" has continued, and there is an extension of range in the best anthologies (20), so that one now finds rhyming games and songs (intended to be *sung*), radio ballads, street and trade cries, and bawdy songs suitably adjusted. There is a good deal of modern verse but little Romantic. And indeed here may lie a clue to the unpopularity of poetry, despite the influence of these anthologies, for there are indications that many teachers are incurably Romantic at heart (21).

IV

A survey on "trends in English teaching" is, in the last resort a subjective matter, not least in what one regards as a "trend". One is not writing mainly about practices which have become common in the classroom; nor is one writing mainly about ideas which have only appeared in academic form (it is notorious that one can usually find very old precedents for any "new" movement). Rather is one seeking something between the two; ideas which are as result of, or have had some effect on classroom practice if only in a few schools. One is not only seeking the growing points of the subject, but also some sign that they are sprouting. One is conscious also of the injustices done by omission; one cannot include all the individual teachers or books which have had an influence (22). In fairness however, one must mention the influence of the periodical *Use of English*, the only journal specifically concerned with English teaching, which has done more to disseminate enlightened theory and practice than any other single agency.

It is interesting to note the part that analogies and parallels play in the changing conception of the English teacher's role. Some years ago (judging by the currency of such terms as "discipline" and "drill") it had something of the military about it, or of the physical culture specialist (there was a book called "Keep Fit Exercises in English"). More recently we find a clinical bent, with talk of "field study". Such analogies have been useful, though of course they can be carried too far. As for the children they may be regarded as, potentially, great creative artists, as writers or journalists writing for a specific

audience as do adult authors, as actors interpreting a text in terms of action—these parallels again have proved useful (though corollaries of them—the teacher as proof corrector, the pupil as professionally self-conscious, have not). The analogy of the child as potential literary critic has been very damaging; it is the ideal of most university honours schools, who expect no original writing from their students, so that it is perhaps not surprising that such writing, laid great stress on for five years in the main school, seldom gets as far as the sixth form.

Every teacher has his own ideas about the lines upon which the subject could best develop. Of the four main influences described in Section I, two (the mass media and the educational revolution) were related to the poor and even perverse environment of children, one (psychology) was a cohering force, the other (examinations) a disintegrating force. One feels that developments in English should be particular concerned with enriching the environment of the pupils, and with synthesising the subject, perhaps along the lines of the work done by the pupils of Rowse from the Perse School. Both F. C. Happold, *The English Subjects Synthesis* (Christophers, 1951), and C. W. Peckitt break down subject barriers and offer an integrated syllabus, in the latter case "Western Civilisation" (23). Such a synthesis also helps incidentally to solve the problem of the right use of information, spoken of previously.

It would seem clear that English teaching has improved very considerably between the publication of the two official reports, (*The Teaching of English in England* (H.M.S.O., 1921) and *Language: Some Suggestions* (1954)). Under the circumstances it seems improbable that the English of the pupils has deteriorated. Nevertheless there is not room for complacency. The complaints of "Employer" and his like about the illiteracy of his recruits have to be set in the context of great social changes which have meant that he is employing intellectually less able young people (24). But these and other legitimate demands of society ought to be met; they must however be scrutinised carefully, for they are frequently short-sighted, if no worse (for instance, in so far as the examinations system is the instrument of society it creates many of the deficiencies it deplores). On the other hand there are the truly educational needs of children. It is of course naïve to think that social and educational needs are completely independent of each other; it is even more naïve to think that they are one and the same.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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7. See Bailey, K. V., *The Listening Schools* (B.B.C., 1957) In the year 1961-2 programmes on TV have included Drama (*Faustus* and *Philoctetes*, B.B.C., and *Hamlet*, A-R) and on Sound "Listening and Writing" and "Prose and Verse Readings".
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13. Hass, R. B., (ed.), *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education* (Beacon House, N.Y., 1949).
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15. Such as in the U.L.P. Shakespeare.
16. Thoughtful books on drama in schools are P. A. Coggins's historical survey, *Drama and Education* (Thames and Hudson, 1956); Burton, E. J., *Drama in Schools* (Herbert Jenkins, 1955) and *Teaching English Through Self-Expression* (Evans, n.d.). The Ministry of Education's *Drama in the Schools of Wales* (H.M.S.O., 1954) does not show much awareness of the possibilities of spontaneous work.
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18. Gurrey, P., *The Appreciation of Poetry* (O.U.P., 1935); Danby, J. F., *Approach to Poetry* (Heinemann, 1960); Sussams, T. W., *Poetry and the Teacher* (Nelson, 1949); Lewis, Day, C., *Poetry for You* (Blackwell, 1944); Reeves, James, *Teaching Poetry* (Heinemann, 1958); Baldwin, M., *Poetry without Tears* (Routledge, 1959); Swann, Mona, *Approach to Choral Speech*.
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PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION FOR TEACHERS

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I. ACCENTUATED AWARENESS OF PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION

ONE of the most conspicuous features of the modern world is the increase in size of organisations and communities. This development has had many consequences, of which one in particular is relevant in the present context: the tendency towards the division of society into groups of like-minded people. In a mass society it is possible to spend most of one's time, and to get most of one's enjoyment, in the company of others of similar social and cultural background and tastes. Birds of a feather can get together more easily in a town than in a village. Children and adolescents appear to form gangs more generally in town than in country, and these exert a powerful influence over the individual's development for there are more of them. The most striking example of this trend has come with the growth of the "teenage" cult, where the combination of extra spending money and extra independence has produced a self-conscious distinctiveness of outlook and taste. One consequence of these developments is that many parents and teachers find an alarming gulf of mutual incomprehension growing up between themselves and their children. In another setting, as Sir C. Snow has pointed out, we find research scientists developing a common outlook, arising from their common interests and background, quite markedly different from that of literary men. There is evidence of a similar polarisation of the adherents of "pop" culture and those of the traditional "top" culture. In large firms, management and manual workers may often come to know one another less intimately and humanly than in small firms. On the international scale, the trickle of tourists and missions never breaks down the isolation of the big battalions of one country from those of another. In all these cases, therefore, one sees very large numbers of people becoming imprisoned in their own groups and, despite all the new means of communication, becoming less able to understand members of other groups. Hence

the growing talk about "communication". The essential point is that large masses of people can pass their lives within the confines of their own groups and a wall of mutual incomprehension grow up between the members of different groups. They can develop a different outlook on life and a different set of values, even to the extent of never really understanding what the others are talking about.

Hence two implications of great importance for the teacher. First is the tendency towards an increasing gap between the adult and the teenager in the secondary school, which needs to be bridged. Second is the pupil's need to be equipped to deal, after he has left school, with the situation that has been described.

2. THE PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION

Before going on to discuss ways in which these tasks can be undertaken, it is necessary to look more closely at the process of communication itself. It is often assumed that all that is meant is people talking to one another. But, as any husband and wife will testify, that does not necessarily result in mutual understanding or sympathy. Debates at U.N.O. have often degenerated into propaganda or slanging matches. The first criterion of effective communication must be mutual understanding. It follows that to provide a common language is not enough; one has to enable mutual confidence and sympathy to spring up and consolidate.

Again, it is often thought that the only effective medium of communication is words. The fact is that far more is involved than words; tone of voice, the expression of the eyes, the bearing of the body, all these and other factors influence the process of communication. A schoolboy can say 'Yes, Sir' or 'Thank you very much, Sir' with an air of dumb insolence more infuriating than open rudeness. The language of tone and gesture is of course a major part of the language of film and television. But this is not a language of separate words and phrases which is amenable to analysis in logical terms. The understanding one gets is an understanding not of facts but of feelings, moods and intentions; of attitudes, values and reactions. The same is true of the communication from the composer of a piece of music to a listener; from a poet to a reader; or from a painter to the viewer of the picture. These forms of communication are non-discursive; one cannot express them in the form of logical statements. They are to a great extent non-verbal; the medium of communication is not words but gestures, sounds, pictures and so on.

These few points may be briefly summed up. First: a major

criterion of effective communication is mutual understanding, and this demands mutual confidence and sympathy. Second: communication is much more than the transmission of facts or logical ideas. It includes also the transmission of feelings, attitudes and moral values, and this to a great extent by gesture, tone, sound and picture rather than by words.

3. COMMUNICATION OF UNDERSTANDING AND OF MODES OF THOUGHT

It is desirable next to look briefly at some of the main areas of personal, mental and social development of school pupils and discuss the practical tasks of communication between teacher and pupil.

One may begin with the normal school subjects. Here the natural starting-point of inquiry is to ask how best to communicate the facts of history, science and the other subjects. Verbal statements alone will often get one nowhere. This is not to say that verbal statements are useless: a teacher in an infant school, Sir Brian Horrocks on television, can tell a story about some historical or religious character with great force and vividness, relying almost exclusively on the spoken word. But for much basic information the teacher needs every device at his disposal if his pupils are to see the implications, the significance, of the facts they learn—he needs the film strips, the motion pictures, the demonstrations, the class visits and the rest of his techniques. As Whitehead pointed out 30 years ago and the University Grants Committee have recently re-emphasised, the academic world is in danger of letting its vitality get drained away in a desert of facts. Facts in themselves have no great value; it is essential for the pupil to get at the flavour of the reality behind the facts, and at the wider connexions of the facts.

But it is not only facts and their significance that the teacher is concerned with but the communication of a mode of thought. Historical thinking is not the same as empirical scientific thinking, nor the same as quantitative thinking, or moral or religious thinking. Historical thinking is fundamentally a matter of the assessment of witnesses: how far was Shakespeare reliable on the character of Richard III? Or St. Luke on the actions of St. Paul? These examples are beyond the reach of many pupils in the schools; but the comparison of different newspaper reports of the same current event is quite practicable. A dangerous myth is rampant in the academic world, to the effect that one has to know the facts *before* one exercises one's judgment. Anyone who went house-hunting in this spirit, treating the agents' descriptions as facts without exercising his

judgment on their interpretation, would soon be lost. One needs to exercise one's judgment *in the process of acquiring the facts*; and thus the teacher must present his historical material in such a way that the pupil exercises his judgment in studying it and thus cultivates a historical judgment in the process. The capacity for such thought is not confined to any particular age-range, any more than scientific thinking is confined to any particular age-range. One can carry out scientific observations, recording, and the drawing of inferences at a mental age of 8 or 9 just as at 15 or 16, if the material and presentation are adapted to the ability and interests of the children.

The same principle is true of quantitative thinking: it is more important to develop children's mathematical insight than to train them in arithmetical techniques. This is not to say that mechanical techniques are not useful—they are, when the children are ripe for them and when the techniques are the servants of understanding.

4. COMMUNICATION OF APPRECIATION OF VALUES

The teacher has to communicate not only the significance of facts and the modes of thinking characteristic of different subjects, but his aesthetic enjoyment, his perception of moral and religious values and his understanding of people. In such matters a strong argument can be made out for avoiding drill and compulsion as far as possible. In music and the other arts the most effective mode of communication appears to be to provide children with abundant opportunity for the appropriate experience together with some exchange of comment with an enthusiastic teacher. The latter can sometimes stimulate interest by giving some background information about (say) Mozart's childhood or Beethoven's deafness; otherwise he does well to avoid adverse criticism and merely express his own enjoyment. In the moral and religious sphere the same principles appear to hold true more frequently than is generally recognised. If one drills pupils in merely inciting them to throw them overboard later. One's pupils tend to learn deeper lessons if they arrive at conclusions about values and religious questions through open discussion in which the teacher is willing to face their challenge openly and explain quite candidly why he believes in his principles. This can be a severe test of his honesty and the thoroughness of his thinking.

It is advisable to distinguish rather carefully between three inter-related types of question—those about moral values; those about the interpretation of human behaviour; and those about religion. The

first two, and often the third, can be made alive and real for the pupils in the setting of a discussion of a film or television programme. Some of the most exciting and searching discussions I have myself had with pupils ranging in age from 13 to 30 have been on selected films and television programmes. "Dixon of Dock Green", the popular programme about a London policeman, raises a variety of questions about authority. A film like "Room at the Top" raises vital questions of the relation of sexual morality to personal responsibilities and attachment. One of the advantages of this approach is that it often gets behind the guard of the formal impersonal language of the classroom to the vivid dialect and feelings of the out-of-school life. In all this work the teacher has to aim at encouraging the *building of convictions based on insight*, rather than aim at telling his pupils what is right or wrong. He often has to be careful *how* he tells them what he thinks right or wrong; a condemnation is easily implied by an innocuous statement through the context or the tone of voice.

It is as well to stand back and ask what is being communicated in such moral and religious discussions. The first thing that registers with one's pupils is that one takes their point of view seriously; that one respects them and their own perceptions of morality. Now this is in fact the fundamental basis for most civilised morality: that one respects other people, is considerate and tolerant towards them, treats them as human beings. Divorce and extra-marital intercourse would be reduced to negligible proportions if people really respected others as persons. In so far as one communicates this attitude to the pupils one is laying the foundation stone of an adult morality. The second effect of this approach is to make one's pupils more receptive to one's comment and advice. That is, it aids the teacher in the communication of his own insight into moral and psychological questions, and his own aspirations and ideals. The tendency nowadays is for the pupil to erect a barrier against the teacher who tries to coerce his inner moral sense. Thirdly, this approach helps the teacher to cultivate the pupil's capacity for mutual understanding and insight.

5. COMMUNICATION OF CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDES TO AUTHORITY

A third area of life in which the teacher needs to communicate a certain outlook is that of civic and social responsibilities. Three aspects in particular call for attention: the political responsibilities of a democratic citizen; the economic responsibilities of a citizen of this country; and the relation of the individual to problems of authority wherever he meets them. The economic aspects are difficult to im-

press on our pupils before the sixth form stage, and even then only in conjunction with carefully planned visits to industrial and commercial establishments. The responsibilities of the democratic citizen, however, are intimately connected with his relation to authority in general, and here most teachers are in a position of much greater potential influence.

The major factor that has to be taken into account here is the profound shift in people's attitudes to authority that is characteristic of the mid-twentieth century. This is to be seen in most spheres of life. Many teachers and parents are confused and bewildered by the difficulties of exercising effective discipline over their children. For the teacher this is not merely a matter of dealing with "teddy-boys" in big cities but of overcoming sheer apathy towards what the school has to offer. The customary authorities of the past, such as the church and the upper social classes, find themselves challenged or ignored. The world as a whole is tormented with the problems arising from the upsurge of the more backward races and countries, which appear to be unwilling to accept their previous low status.

This means that one of the major tasks of the teacher must be to attempt to develop in his pupil the habit of working closely with those in authority, of taking up a constructive attitude, of contributing his own view clearly and straightforwardly and of treating the views of persons in authority as genuine and reasonable. Such habits cannot be generated without long, graded, experience acquired in the classroom as well as in the out-of-school club and the playground. One often hears the view expressed that very little responsibility can be given to secondary modern pupils. Where there is a legacy of mistrust and antagonism from the past this is perfectly true; as in such circumstances it is true of every human institution. A recent book by a West Indian teacher in London illustrates how bad attitudes can be reversed, within a limited context, by an exceptional teacher. The point here is that many teachers are searching for ways in which they can communicate to their pupils the habits and attitudes of constructive collaboration with authority that have been mentioned, without having any clear idea of the conditions necessary for that communication to be effective. No useful or positive attitudes to authority can be communicated unless there is a high degree of confidence between teacher and pupil. That confidence will not be forthcoming from the pupils unless the teacher treats them with appreciation and respect, and is conspicuously honest, and yet maintains his own firm standards. In short, the conditions of effective

communication in this sphere are very similar indeed to those in the moral, aesthetic and religious spheres. It is not difficult to see why this should be so: in all these cases the teacher's task is not to drill the pupils in certain habits but to nourish certain natural intuitions and perceptions in them which they catch from the teacher and from the climate of opinion he creates.

Given the mutual confidence, the teacher can set about systematically drawing his pupils into closer partnership with himself. He can begin with distributing minor responsibilities as these become apparent and natural. He can proceed to adapt his academic work to suit the felt needs of the pupils, so that what he has to offer is real and meaningful to them. He can attempt to organise his work in such a way as to increase for his pupils the opportunities they get for working under their own direction. This may be done by individual work assignments or by making a large part of the work practical. From these early stages, which may take a year or two according to his own skill and the general temper of the school, he may proceed to organise his work on the basis of small semi-independent groups, not perhaps unlike those of a good scout troop, and develop the pupils' capacity for initiative and responsibility in those groups.

Thus it is possible for the teacher to create conditions in which he can communicate to his pupils his own positive attitudes to the exercise of authority and mutual consultation. He cannot convey these attitudes if he does not possess them, but if he has the beginnings of them and is bold enough to experiment he may learn to develop both in himself and in his pupils a positive, constructive and independent approach to authority.

6. COMMUNICATION OF INNER WORLD OF IMAGINATION

Finally one must consider a deeper and more refractory problem. In the preceding sections the assumption has been that the teacher has to communicate to his pupils something from his own experience and outlook, or from the common stock of traditional wisdom. This may be knowledge or a mode of thought, or it may be values and attitudes. It is necessary to examine another mode of communication of a basically different nature: the communication of the inner world of the child in some external form for his conscious self to see and any sympathetic bystander to enjoy. The communication here is from the child to anyone interested, and that includes himself. This notion requires some amplification.

Consideration must begin with two general features of contem-

porary life. The first is the absence of any clear agreed guiding lines on how one should live. There is no set accepted pattern. In the Middle Ages the moral pattern was laid down by the church. Now the church is not merely broken up into warring fragments; it is largely ignored. There is no official moral line. All sorts of influences pull in all sorts of ways; the variety and contradiction among standards is immense and for the young extremely confusing. The second feature to be recognised is the superficiality of much ordinary life. If one looks systematically at television programmes or the popular press the overriding impression is of triviality; and if one looks at the audience research figures it seems quite clear that the majority of the public want it so. Shakespeare and Beethoven get a following, and this following is in fact growing; but it still is a tiny minority. The ordinary man not only has no clear path to wisdom or guide to the fundamentals of human life; he does not appear to be very much concerned to get one. Yet the great majority of pupils going out from the schools are decent individuals. These are sweeping generalisations to make about a society of 50 million people but they could certainly be supported.

This situation suggests that an urgent need of the times is for firm civilised convictions about life, for a stable core of inner personal life. This may or may not be religious; for a churchman it will to a considerable extent be religious; but churchmen have no monopoly of religious depth. The essence of it, perhaps, is a grasp of the basic moral realities of human life, a realisation of the sheer brute necessity, for any adult civilised life, of faithfulness to other people, of adherence to conscience, of a belief in love, and so on. It is here argued that, given the right circumstances and climate of opinion in a school, the deepening of the inner life is most powerfully influenced by expressive or creative work in the pupils.

The following example illustrates the effect of self-expression on a state of mind: "Miss R., aged 20. This patient had an hysterical torticollis. She was an only child. Both parents were 'Victorian' in outlook. . . . She had difficulty in adjusting herself to office life after leaving the relatively sheltered school environment. She tended to be quiet and subdued and was imposed on by her superiors and workmates alike. Her parents contrived to restrict her, allowing her limited pocket money and, even when 19, refusing to allow her to go on holiday with a girl friend or have a bicycle of her own. Under these conditions she became increasingly tense and developed headaches. She was derided by other girls . . . and became progressively

less self-confident. Her torticollis began three months before her admission to hospital. The precipitating event was her deception by one of the few close friends she had. She made rapid progress with psychotherapy and obtained considerable insight into the mechanism of her illness. Her self-confidence increased and she became more cheerful, but her torticollis was unchanged. She remained shy and her social life was restricted by this, and by her reluctance to face situations which increased her tension. She was acutely aware of her hostility to her parents, but 'Just could not face them' to use her own words. She had had twenty hours' psychotherapy before joining the group. She watched several 'misfit families' before feeling able to take part. In the first one she was very tense and almost speechless. In fact, the 'family' she took part in happened to include a domineering 'mother' who early in the scene began to instruct the others as to the correct way of handling the problem. The patient was seen to become very tense, red in the face and tremulous. She turned further away from the 'mother' and expressed an immense amount of anger, banging the table between them and shouting, most unlike her usual subdued self. The 'mother' sat back amazed, but recognized that this show of emotion was part of the patient's illness and not a personal attack. The patient eventually stopped her attack and sat back very much more relaxed than usual. The audience supported her in their comments and the patient achieved an increased status with the whole community. On her next week-end leave she went home and for the first time she was able to discuss her resentment with her parents. She said 'they were very surprised—they did not know how I felt about things'. She was allowed to buy her bicycle and given much more freedom than previously. She left hospital a month later. In this month she had become much more sociable and her torticollis had subsided completely. A year later she was still symptom free, in regular employment, with many friends of both sexes and a fuller social life than most girls. . . .

"It is worth noting . . . that although psychotherapy had apparently given the patient considerable intellectual insight, more progress was possible in five minutes 'acting out' than in many hours previous discussions. Very significant alterations in her attitudes both to her parents and to other people generally occurred rapidly after the incident in the 'family'." (1)

Here there is clear evidence that *in certain circumstances* the process of giving expression to inner emotions and impressions can have the effect of enabling the individual to get a better understanding

of himself and his relations with other people, and to break down barriers which were not surmounted by ordinary thought or conversation. But the above somewhat crude example conveys nothing of the profound satisfaction or excitement of the process of creative expression. This is a commonplace to those who have seen a class of children touched with the creative spirit, whether in drama, mime, painting, pottery or making models. It is in some degree an act of faith to claim that these experiences are of the same kind and can have the same effects as the ones described earlier; and that the two can have the effect of deepening the pupil's inner resources of conviction and sensitiveness. But those who have had much experience of creative/expressive work motivated by such values as those mentioned, or have long been bound to another person by ties of love, may be willing to grant its validity.

From the teacher's point of view, however, the most refractory question of all is how to arouse that spirit in a class in virtue of which they work from some depth of feeling and imagination within themselves. It is all too easy for a poetry-writing lesson to be meaningless, or a drama period to go dead on one. Three answers may be offered. First, it is essential that the teacher should work with the children in a medium in which he has developed some creativeness himself. And certainly if he is persistently dissatisfied with the creative effort of his pupils he should consider the advisability of attending some course designed to develop his own expressive powers and satisfaction in that medium.

Second, he must be sensitive to what a child has it in him to say. He has to have a sixth sense which perceives what is coming from a child's heart, and help him to develop it. If he finds that a child only reproduces second-hand clichés he must try different topics and media of expression until he finds something which brings him to life.

Thirdly the teacher requires to understand what he himself is aiming at—namely the communication of the pupils' imaginative impressions and feelings; and beyond this, and more important, the deepening of their insight into people and into values. This means that he has to be thoroughly familiar with the characteristic qualities, experiences, joys and aspirations of the various ages, and play on them. At the beginning of the "gang-age" from 8 to 10 years one does well to give as painting or modelling subjects topics like "Snowballing with my friends", "Climbing trees with my friends", or "Our six at the Cub Pack". At 14 with mime and impromptu drama one can take such subjects as "My family getting breakfast and going out in

the morning", or "Jean comes home an hour late in the evening". In other words one needs to provide one's pupils with opportunities for working out in expressive/creative form the underlying emotions and imaginative impressions which fill their minds at these ages. It may well be argued that drama, mime and dance-drama link up with film and television study as potentially the most valuable of the various media, simply because they provide the best opportunities for deepening insight into people and values. Given the mutual confidence between the teacher and his pupils the above approach may enable him to develop in his pupils that inner life and conviction which will withstand the confusion and frivolity of the modern world.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ADOLESCENT'S CONCEPTS OF HIS PARENTS AND TEACHERS

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INTRODUCTION

THE study to be reported here was prompted by two questions:

1. What sort of conception do secondary modern pupils have of their teachers, and how does this differ from their conception of their parents?
2. Do these subjects identify themselves more with teachers than parents?

The influence an adult has over an adolescent will clearly be related to the sort of conception the adolescent has of him. At a time when, it is commonly said, adults are out of touch with adolescents, there is urgent need to study the conditions under which they can positively influence adolescent personalities. This is particularly true of the influence of teachers upon boys and girls in their last year at school. A first step is to examine the present situation.

One of the most potent mechanisms of personal influence would appear to be identification. Unfortunately, in spite of a growing literature on the subject, there is still considerable disagreement over how identification should be conceived, and how it should be measured. A reader might well agree with Bronfenbrenner's recent conclusion (1) that what is needed is less theorising and more facts to theorise about. In the present study, the author follows Argyle (2) in defining identification as the state of wanting to become like another person. An adolescent would be identified with a teacher to the extent that he wanted to become like him. In terms of measurement, this becomes the degree of similarity between an individual's conception of himself as he would most like to be, and his conception of the other person. The closer these are, the more the individual can be said to be identified with the other person.

In order to find answers to the questions initiating the study, it was necessary to get measures of five concepts; these are the Self, Teachers, Mother, Father, and Ideal Self or ego-ideal. As a further, subsidiary question, it was decided to test whether identification with teachers was related to the sort of conception classmates had of a given individual. Hence a measure was taken of each subject's conception of each of his classmates; the average rating received by each subject would then represent the sort of person he was in the eyes of the rest of the class.

METHOD

Because of its convenience from the point of view of completing and scoring, the Semantic Differential was chosen as the main measuring instrument. The Semantic Differential is rare among personality measures in being related, if tenuously, to learning theory; moreover an impressive quantity of research has been done with it (see Osgood, (3), and Scott Moss, (4)). It consists, simply, of a series of, in this case, eighteen, bipolar, 7-point rating scales. Each scale was arranged as follows:

Obstinate: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: _____: Easygoing.

At the top of each series of scales would be a concept, for example, as in the present study, "Me as I really am". With this concept in mind, the subject is invited to go down the list of scales, placing a tick in that space on each scale which he feels to be the most accurate and appropriate. The central space represents a neutral, noncommittal judgment. Each subject is asked to act on his first impression, and obey his general feeling rather than to start arguing with himself. The full instructions for administration can be found in Osgood (3). The time taken in completing a set of eighteen scales would be about three minutes. Scoring, in the present study, was consistently from left to right, the first space scoring 1, the last 7.

The greatest problem was the selection of scales, since it was desirable that they should cover the main dimensions of personality yet be small in number. In the end it was decided to make use of Cattell's factor analyses of ratings (5), for Cattell's dimensions of personality are based upon one person's judgment of another, and are expressed in bipolar form, that is, as pairs of opposites. Certain modifications were made in the light of Osgood's work, and the wording was changed slightly to make it more appropriate to secondary modern pupils. Examples of all Cattell's major factors were

included, and two extra scales were added, namely "Plain-Good-looking", and "Rich-Poor". Details of the scales will be given with the results.

The subjects totalled 105; 60 were girls, and 45 boys. Both boys and girls were at single sex, secondary modern schools in a growing, semi-industrial town near Oxford. The distribution for classes was as follows: Girls: 4X $n=27$, and Low Fifth $n=33$; Boys: 4A $n=26$, and 4C $n=19$.

All subjects completed Semantic Differentials for the following concepts: "Teachers as they usually are", "My father as he really is", "My mother as she really is", "Me as I really am", "Me as I would most like to be", and each other member of the class as he really is. It will be noted that the concept for teachers is so worded as to evoke a stereotype rather than the picture of an individual person. This was forced upon the author because in the girls' school, it was felt that the rating of individual teachers might have undesirable repercussions afterwards. It is hoped, however, that the result would be near enough to the mean rating of individual teachers for the difference to be unimportant.

In order to preserve anonymity a coding scheme was evolved. The experimenter spent about a morning with each class, and efforts were made to ensure that the pupils fully understood the nature of the scales, and had an appropriately serious attitude towards them.

RESULTS

The mean scores for boys and for girls were calculated for each of the scales and for each of the five main concepts. Before comparing concepts of teachers and parents, it is useful first to consider the pattern of the ego-ideals of these subjects, for this gives us a direction of evaluation for each of the scales. In table I below, the scales are ordered according to the degree of extremeness of the mean rating, that is, distance from the central space on the scale. Each scale is represented by the single adjective which indicates the ideal direction. As can be seen, the ideal ratings for both boys and girls are consistently in the same direction, with the exception of the "Hard-Soft" scale, where the ideal for boys is slightly in the direction of Hard, and for girls slightly in the direction of Soft. Though the direction of evaluation for the various dimensions is in general the same, the degree of evaluation of the scales varies considerably between boys and girls.

TABLE I

<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
1 Happy	Happy	10 Trustful	Adventurous
2 Skilful	Popular	11 Popular	Persevering
3 Adventurous	Patient	12 Goodlooking	Strong
4 Clever	Trustful	13 Easygoing	Peaceful
5 Knowledgable	Skilful	14 Rich	Rich
6 Successful	Clever	15 Calm	Ordinary
7 Strong	Successful	16 Hard	Knowledgable
8 Patient	Goodlooking	17 Peaceful	Calm
9 Persevering	Easygoing	18 Ordinary	Soft

The rank order correlation between the evaluation of the eighteen scales by the boys and by the girls is .57. The tendency is for boys to value achievement qualities more highly than girls, and for girls to stress qualities of personal relationship. It is noteworthy that both boys and girls place happiness much higher than wealth.

The ratings for parents, teachers, and self, form a somewhat complex pattern in relation to the ideal, though it can be said, first, that almost without exception parents are rated closer to the ideal than the self. In certain respects, teachers are closer to the ideal than parents. Thus teachers are more clever, skilful, persevering, rich and knowledgable than parents. Girls rate teachers as more knowledgable than their ideal. They also rate teachers as more successful than their parents, and boys rate them as more adventurous.

At the other extreme, both boys and girls rate teachers as further from the ideal than themselves on a number of dimensions. Thus teachers are a good deal less easygoing, trustful, happy, popular and peaceful than both their parents and themselves. Girls rate teachers as less strong, and much less patient than themselves or their parents; and boys rate them as less goodlooking than themselves.

Boys rate teachers as less calm, strong, successful, patient and strong than their parents, but more so than themselves; girls rate teachers as less calm, adventurous and goodlooking than their parents, but more so than themselves. The two remaining scales, "Hard-Soft", and "Unusual-Ordinary", are a little confused because the ideal rating is in both instances close to the neutral value on the scale. Boys rate both their teachers and their fathers as harder than the ideal, and themselves and their mothers as less so; girls rate teachers as very hard, and both their mothers and themselves as soft, the gap between teacher and mother being very wide.

Both sexes rate themselves as the most ordinary, and teachers as the least.

The significance of these results will be taken up later. We must now turn to the second question mentioned at the beginning. Identification has been defined in terms of the discrepancy between the subject's ideal and his concept of the other person. In order to examine whether the pupils identify more with teachers than parents, the mean discrepancies between the ideal self and each of the other concepts were computed for each class and over the whole series of scales. The results were as follows:

TABLE II

	<i>Boys</i>			<i>Girls</i>	
	Father	Mother		Low Fifth	Teacher
4A	1.320		4X		1.323
	1.404				1.387
	1.552				1.756
	1.590				1.800
4C	Father	1.337	4X	Mother	1.338
	Mother	1.603		Father	1.362
	Self	1.682		Teacher	1.393
	Teacher	1.965		Self	1.650

These results are unambiguous. The subjects are, in general, more identified with their parents than with teachers. The fact that teachers are further from the ideal than the self for three of the classes cannot be taken as evidence of a total absence of identification, for in the detailed account of the results it was clear that in some respects teachers are very close to the ideal. Moreover, conclusions based upon the total mean discrepancies must depend upon the representativeness of the selected scales. As was to be expected, boys identify more closely with their fathers than with their mothers; the pattern for girls is less clear, but this is consistent with previous research (e.g. Blum, (6)).

It was decided to supplement the above by studying individual differences in identification with teachers. Specifically, two questions were asked: (a) Is identification with teachers associated with a particular reputation among classmates? and (b) Is identification with teachers an expression of a general tendency to identify with adults?

To answer the first question, identification with teachers was correlated with the mean score received from classmates, for each of the scales, and for each class. Most of the correlations were not

significant, and those that were did not present a consistent picture over the classes. Such indications as there were, however, suggest that identification with teachers is associated with being stupid, ignorant, weak, unpopular, soft and giving up, in the eyes of classmates.

To answer the second question, rank order correlations were calculated between identification with teachers, and the corresponding measures for father and mother. The results were:

TABLE III

	<i>Boys</i>		<i>Girls</i>
Father	.48	.4C	.4X
Mother	.45	.55	.40
	.58	.83	.40
		<i>Low Fifth</i>	
		.41	
		.36	

These correlations were all significant. It might be objected that they really reflect a personality difference in the way subjects completed the scales. Those who were cautious, and made more use of the neutral category, would have smaller ideal-model discrepancies than those who freely used the whole range of the scale, and this effect would be systematic. To check this, endorsements of the central rating category were totalled, and rank orders correlated with the identification with teachers for each class. No coefficient reached the conventional levels of significance. The evidence, therefore, supports the contention that identification with teachers is an aspect of a more general tendency to identify with adults.

DISCUSSION

Any conclusions we might draw from these results depend upon the validity of certain assumptions. Since these assumptions though in varying degrees reasonable, are not conclusively established it is as well to state them. They are: (a) that identification is a powerful mechanism of personal influence, (b) that the measurement of it used here is valid, (c) that the scales selected provide an adequately representative sample of the dimensions of personality, and (d) that the concept "Teachers as they usually are" is truly comparable with the mean rating for individual parents.

Having made these assumptions, we may proceed to draw certain inferences. The main fact that has emerged is that, in their last year at school, secondary modern school pupils are a good deal less identified with their teachers than with their parents. The explanation would seem to lie in the nature of the conception that pupils have of their teachers. For it is clear that this conception is

very much determined by the primary, traditional role that teachers play, namely that of a source of knowledge and authority. Insofar as the pupils do identify with teachers, it is restricted to those aspects of personality which relate to academic achievement. They admire teachers for their cleverness and knowledge. But they do not seem to value them highly as persons. It is precisely those aspects of the teachers' personality which make him human that are rated unfavourably. Teachers are not happy, easygoing, trustful and popular.

It is often said that school work has less and less personal relevance for the secondary modern pupil as the time to leave school approaches. At the same time, there has been a tendency in recent years to place increasing responsibility upon the teacher for such things as the mental health, attitudes, values and social awareness of adolescents. It would seem that if the teacher is to fulfil this responsibility, and exert a wider influence than one restricted to the learning of knowledge, then conditions must be provided that will allow the adolescent to meet the teacher in a more individual and human way, and thus come to identify more fully with him as a person outside his primary role.

Finally, it is of interest to note that the opinion sometimes expressed that adolescents are, in general, rejecting parental influence, receives no confirmation here. It is true that no attempt was made to compare parental influence with that of young adults outside school, or with the fantasy figures of television and film; but the consistent tendency to rate parents as closer to the ideal than the self suggests that for this age group and type of child, parental influence is still very strong.

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HERBERT SPENCER AND THE APOTHEOSIS OF SCIENCE

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II

(concluded)

FROM this aspect of scientific education Spencer turns to education for parenthood, and he demonstrates ably that knowledge of such subjects as physiology, hygiene and child psychology would do much towards the better rearing of children. He deftly illustrates the vital issues involved and declares that the capacity to educate cannot come merely from habit or instinct but must be trained. His sanity and penetration are apparent too in his awareness, at a time when examinations, measurable results and verbalisation were highly regarded, of their limitations:

Nearly every subject dealt with is arranged in abnormal order: definitions and rules and principles being put first, instead of being disclosed, as they are in the order of Nature, through the study of cases. And then, pervading the whole, is the vicious system of rote learning—sacrificing the spirit to the letter. See the results. What with perceptions unnaturally dulled by early thwarting, and a coerced attention to books—what with mental confusion produced by teaching subjects before they can be understood—what with making the pupil a mere passive recipient of other's ideas—and what with taxing the faculties to excess; there are very few minds that become as efficient as they might be. Examinations being once passed, books are laid aside; the greater part of what has been acquired, being unorganized, soon drops out of recollection; what remains is mostly inert—the art of applying knowledge not having been cultivated; and there is but little power either of accurate observation or independent thinking (27).

Wisely, then, educators should keep in harmony with the natural sequence of learning, providing concrete examples before abstractions, observation before demonstration and books only when they supply real needs. Above all, the body is precious, one's first duty is to be a healthy animal, Spencer argues, again dwelling on the sufferings caused by ignorance of hygiene, and lapsing into sentimentality with the sketch of the wretched parents who would not have lost

their children had they studied physiology and ethology instead of Dante and Aeschylus. Once more comes the typical simple-minded view that the degree of happiness and usefulness in life is inexorably bound up with the degree of obedience to Nature's laws:

here are the indisputable facts:—that the development of children in mind and body follows certain laws; that unless these laws are in some degree conformed to by parents, death is inevitable; that unless they are in a great degree conformed to, there must result serious physical and mental defects; and that only when they are completely conformed to, can a perfect maturity be reached (28).

Here, as in other parts of his book, Spencer does not say what age-group he has in mind, though from his feeble joke about the conventional school course being preparation for monastic orders only it would appear that he was thinking of children. If so, he was mistaken. The fact is that children are celibates. For them the subjects proposed would barely be comprehensible or congenial, though they are, as experience has shown, suitable for adult classes. The passage is one more example—the section dealing with preparation for citizenship, and making a case for Sociology and against the customary inordinate stress on military and political history, is another—of the creativeness of Spencer's mind and of his original insight into human needs, particularly those of his time, but it also shows his remarkable obtuseness in failing to understand the full implications of his stimulating suggestions.

Lest Spencer's clear predilection for science should have given the impression that he is inimical to the arts, he declares that he yields

to none in the value that he attaches to aesthetic culture and its pleasures. Without painting, sculpture, music, poetry, and the emotions produced by natural beauty of every kind, life would lose half its charm (29).

This admiration for art did not produce any understanding of its nature and function—the word "charm" is revealing—and his solitary true perception that the processes and results of science could provide material for poetry—"science excites poetry rather than extinguishes it"—led to the silly conclusion that the poet must devote himself to science. In fact, Spencer shows himself as ignorant of art as any confirmed classicist might be of science. His conclusions that "arts occupy the leisure part of life, so should they occupy the leisure part of education" and that the "highest Art of every kind is based on Science" (30) are, as Cavenagh says, (31) "palpable absurdity . . . there is no use wasting ink over them, anyone who is

taken in by them must be beyond hope". It is more useful, probably, to observe that Spencer's obsession with the notion of evolution seems here to have led him into the error of applying "the laws of evolution" (appropriate for much material and biological phenomena) to the realm of moral and artistic values, where such "laws" are clearly not valid. Because there was evidence of steady development and improvement in Man's knowledge of science and in Man's control over his physical and natural environment, Spencer assumed that similar developments and improvements should be taking place in the arts, and that they would take place if science were resolutely studied, a grossly inaccurate assumption which has, unfortunately, become popularly accepted.

Having satisfied himself that science is the most useful study for all important activities of life, Spencer continues with superb self-confidence and no little disregard of the facts to claim that science is best also as a discipline:

We may be quite sure that the acquirement of those classes of facts which are most useful for regulating conduct, involves a mental exercise best fitted for strengthening the faculties. It would be utterly contrary to the beautiful economy of Nature, if one kind of culture were needed for the gaining of information and another kind were needed as a mental gymnastic (32).

This is the kind of utterance, unbacked by evidence, that, if it had come from anyone else, would have been likely to arouse Spencer's scorn. Following come the notions that science is the supreme agent both for developing powers of judgment and also for fostering moral qualities, then, finally, Spencer makes what even he admits may be a surprising assertion: "that the discipline of science is superior to that of our ordinary education, because of the *religious* culture that it gives" (33), for a student observing through science the "invariable connexion of cause and effect . . . a system of rewards and punishments in the ordained constitution of things . . . laws to which we must submit that are both inexorable and beneficent" may be led to believe in a moral order in the universe and in some kind of future paradise, since "the process of things is ever towards a greater perfection and a higher happiness" (33). Here one is at the core of Spencer, and the tone becomes nearer to that of the mystic than the scientist. Concepts of evolution, nature and science are endowed with qualities usually only associated with God. The universe is evolving according to some principle, and science alone can understand and co-operate with this process, Spencer proclaims, and then

pat, in a summary at the end of the first essay in the book, makes his most fervent appeal for science:

Thus to the question we set out with—What knowledge is of most worth? —the uniform reply is—Science. This is the verdict on all the counts. For direct self-preservation, or the maintenance of life and health, the all-important knowledge is—Science. For that indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of greatest value is—Science. For the due discharge of parental functions, the proper guidance is to be found only in—Science. For that interpretation of national life, past and present, without which the citizen cannot rightly regulate his conduct, the indispensable key is—Science. Alike for the most perfect production and present enjoyment of art in all its forms, the needful preparation is still—Science, and for purposes of discipline—intellectual, moral and religious—the most efficient study is, once more—Science (34).

This is an outstanding piece of rhetorical prose, with its strong, insistent rhythms, its cunningly modulated stresses and pauses—pointing irresistibly the word “Science”, the climax of each pause—its positiveness, its several repetitions, and its apt choice of words which links such phrases as “all-important”, “greatest value”, and “indispensable key” with “Science”. Little wonder that it is famous and that the feelings of many readers have been so engaged by it that they have hardly remarked the absence of evidence or logic or seen that the term “Science” has been so extended as to become almost meaningless. Here Spencer has expressed an optimistic faith, growing in his day, in science as an illimitable beneficent power, and this faith suffusing his writings has given his tone a rather aggressive cocksureness. Signs occur too of the not completely mature mind desiring a panacea, a final, enduring answer which, once grasped, will relieve one of further fundamental pondering:

The question which at first seemed so perplexed, has become, in the course of our inquiry, comparatively simple . . . the study of Science is the best preparation for all these orders of activity. . . . Necessary and eternal as are its truths, all Science concerns all mankind for all time (35).

There are, however, indications of Spencer's awareness that the matter was not as simple as he usually assumed. He says sensibly, though rather inconsistently for one advocating a scientific approach to all matters, that at some stages deliberate simplification is unavoidable, and, nicely gauging the temper of his time, he shows by precept and example that even unrestrained enthusiasm is often essential in starting great movements:

Enthusiasm, pushed even to fanaticism, is a useful motive-power—perhaps an indispensable one. . . . Hence of those who regard education,

intellectual or moral, as the panacea, we may say that their undue expectations are not without use; and that perhaps it is part of the beneficent order of things that their confidence cannot be shaken (36).

But he thinks "true education is practicable only by a true philosopher" (37); "one should not expect from a child any great amount of moral goodness" (37), and "though imperfections of nature may be diminished by wise management, they cannot be removed by it" (36); and lastly that "to educate rightly is not a simple and easy thing, but a complex and extremely difficult thing, the hardest task which devolves on adult life" (37).

The three other chapters of Spencer's book may be seen as the practical application of the principles enunciated in his first chapter. In the chapter on Intellectual Education he deplores the habit of passively accepting everything on the authority of the teacher, and, drawing on Rousseau, pleads soundly for the training of the powers of observation and for the practice of finding things out for oneself:

To *tell* a child this and to *show* it the other, is not to teach it how to observe, but to make it a mere recipient of another's observations. . . . Children should be led to make their own investigations, and to draw their own inferences . . . the process of self-development should be encouraged to the uttermost (38).

He stresses that education should be a pleasurable, independent activity for each pupil, he outlines and exemplifies seven principles which may foster this, and shows, in some detail, how they may be applied in the case of geometry. Leaning on Pestalozzi, he is mindful of the child's needs, and in urging that education must conform to the natural process of child development and must provide the right facts in the right manner at the right time he seems to be groping towards the child-centred curriculum and activity methods later established by Sir Percy Nunn and the Hadow Report. Yet again, amid much that is fresh and constructive, there are one or two flaws, the most serious being the recapitulation theory, picked up and misinterpreted from Comte, that "the genesis of knowledge in the individual must follow the same course as the genesis of knowledge in the race" and that "education should be a repetition of civilization in little" (39).

In the third chapter too Spencer's love for a plausible generalisation and his anxiety to bring out the importance of causality lead him into setting forth the notorious and unscientific doctrine of the discipline of natural consequences, a "divinely-ordained method" he calls it. But, in drawing up some useful everyday rules for punishment, he tacitly abandons it and unconsciously implies that the

"pleasurable self-evolution" he advocates should be conditioned more by parents than by nature. In the course of his exposition, however, he makes a number of noteworthy observations. He underlines the importance of consistency, and points out that defects in adults themselves prevent improvement in education from ever being more than gradual. The educator must carry on his own higher education in human nature as he educates his pupils, and so a good system of education "is twice blessed—it blesses him that trains and him that's trained" (40), Spencer wisely affirms, and with compassionate understanding of children reiterates the continuing need for patience and love. This quality is even more apparent in the final chapter, perhaps the happiest in the book. Here Spencer intelligently and humanely applies himself "to conform the regimen of the nursery and the school to the established truths of modern science" (41), and demonstrates, in some detail, the training needed for two of the most important activities set forth in his first chapter, the preservation of health and the care of offspring. Hardly ever before had such valuable guidance been given in so engaging a style, aptly illuminated by homely examples and anecdotes. Intuitively Spencer anticipated modern rules, the data for which did not exist in his time, for diet, clothing and exercise" (42), and in this, and in such matters as his proper reverence for the human body, his fine plea for improved female education, his condemnation of cramming and the cult of examinations, he proved himself a true and notable prophet, warning his age of its errors, urging it towards something better, and indicating some of the paths that future generations were to tread.

Following the publication of Spencer's book, a climate of opinion favourable to scientific education developed, so much so that John Stuart Mill in his *Inaugural Address at St. Andrews* seemed to suggest that the humanities were in danger of being overridden by science, "a note of alarm scarcely called for", Spencer remarked. Still science moved in, and it was further helped in 1867 by the far-sighted and cogent Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science "On the Best Means for Promoting Scientific Education in Schools", and by *Essays on a Liberal Education* which was, perhaps, the most seminal and comprehensive symposium of the century. The contribution by R. M. Wilson, "On Teaching Natural Science in Schools", was singularly useful as he had been successfully teaching science at Rugby since 1859. Such inspiration was sorely needed, for the public schools were lagging behind. The Clarendon Commission declared in 1864 that the virtual exclusion from them

of science was "a plain defect and a great practical evil", and recommended that provision should be made for science (43). By degrees this was done, more or less willingly, encouraged by headmasters such as Thring, always by the indefatigable Huxley, by Playfair, Tyndall and other scientists, by the humanist Mark Pattison, and, less single-mindedly, by Matthew Arnold. The monumental reports of the Devonshire Commission show that by 1875 progress had been made, but that it was insufficient. Pressure was renewed, and fresh impetus came from several sources. The Clarendon and Cavendish laboratories began production, polytechnics grew, university colleges and the City and Guilds of London Institute were founded, and so by the eighteen-nineties a vital place for science in English education had been secured. Criticism grew of science courses for neglecting practical work and promoting the cramming of inert information. This applied especially to the many schools who were availing themselves of the Science and Art Department grants for success in examinations; "Organized Science Schools" were required to spend not less than thirteen out of twenty-three hours a week upon science. This gross over-emphasis was corrected after the 1902 Act, and the teaching of science was improved through the heuristic methods of H. E. Armstrong. There was little change in the position of science among the five or six leading subjects in the post-primary curriculum up to the 1939-45 war. Since then there has been an unparalleled development in scientific education (not always for the right reasons); to-day it is palpably in the ascendant, strains of adulation reminiscent of Spencer's can be heard, and claims are made, which, if allowed, could lead to a dominance of education by science not much less complete and unhealthy than that once held by the classics.

In this tremendous movement Spencer has his assured place. He is not so great as Huxley, who led the campaign for science for twenty years and who valued the humanities highly, especially English. Yet Spencer struck the most resounding single blow at a crucial moment. He compelled attention, and showed the age its form and pressure. By 1868 he was prominent in Quick's *Essays on Educational Reformers*, and was well known at home and abroad. Within twenty-five years of its publication Spencer's *Education* was the most influential of his voluminous works and had been translated into fifteen languages. And it remains, says Cavenagh, "with the exception of Locke's *Thoughts*, the most widely read treatise on education that England has produced" (44). Why, finally, is this so? Why was Spencer famous? Why is he still considered important?

Considerations relative to the answers to these questions have already been advanced here, but the obvious, and probably most important one, is that Spencer's book, unlike many books on education, is eminently readable. His style has an enduring quality which enables his ideas, his tone and personality, to be felt clearly to-day. Spencer is always lively; he is continually prodding the reader into activity, raising fundamental problems, infusing a mental germ which seldom fails to produce a reaction; he is enthusiastic and positive, his vigour, his apt similes and illustrations, his clever repetitions and judicious pauses to summarise, are all persuasive; they seem logical and clear, they appear to dissolve doubts and difficulties, and to make what was complex and wearisome simple and attractive. Thus, Spencer, a writer on science, with an artist's sensibility, mediated between a difficult subject and an unscientific audience, and his contribution to the growth of scientific education is not so much that he brought forward anything greatly original and valuable (though he made a number of fresh and noteworthy contributions) in the way of basic ideas and theories, but that he was amazingly sensitive to the contemporary mental climate and was able to make abstruse scientific attitudes meaningful to the ordinary reader.

He breathed the intellectual air of his times, he acquired unconsciously a knowledge of what was being said and thought; and what he thus picked up, he gave back again in sonorous language and much amplified . . . a hundred years earlier or later and he might have made little impression. But in 1860—was he not the epitome of the great nonconformist middle classes whose activities were transforming the face of England and the world? Was he not expressing the myths of advance, progress and conquest which, powerfully, were driving them on? Did he not embody their will, their energy, their faith in science and reason—as well as their narrow provincialism, their suspicion of the obscure and the irrational, their discomfort before the manifestations of the Arts? Was he not a quintessential Philistine? (45)

The answer to these questions is, broadly, yes. Spencer was not primarily the creator of these beliefs and ideas about science, not the first to examine their relation to education, here the claims of Bentham, Combe and Huxley are stronger than his; but he expressed the scientific attitude in the most arresting and plausible way; he was the great populariser. His greatness lies less in his scientific insight than in his imaginative power, his ability to comprehend intuitively what was vital in the leading scientific theories of his day, to blend and fuse each into each, and to create from disparate entities a new whole (46).

In the jibe that Spencer put forward a lot of unscientific arguments to prove the necessity for scientific education reside a truth and

a paradox. Spencer is clearly not a cool rational inquirer; he is an ardent champion of a point of view. He does not make an impartial approach, he fails to consider the case he is attacking, he argues by selected instances, his logic is frequently faulty, and he appeals to feeling much more than to reason. He operates as an artist rather than as a scientist; and his *Education* is a remarkable example of the ancient art of rhetoric. He "carries truth alive into the heart by passion" by insistent rhythms, illuminating images, and terse epigrams. And in so doing he impresses many readers who would not have responded to the same case set forth in a rational way (47). He also reveals an inconsistency; he does not allow that the art of persuading people is an important human activity, yet it is by his skill in this art that he wins fame and most serves his cause. For to grasp the truth is not enough—it must be communicated in such a way as to move people to right action. This Spencer did, without fully comprehending. It is not too much to say that Spencer was one of the most powerful forces in the development of scientific education. And he was effective, not through being a good scientist, but, chiefly, through being a good writer.

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27. Spencer (*Cavenagh*), pp. 34-35.
28. *ibid.*, p. 36.
29. *ibid.*, p. 42.
30. *ibid.*, p. 44.
31. *ibid.*, p. xxv.
32. *ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
33. *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
34. *ibid.*, pp. 58-59.
43. *Clarendon Report* (H.M.S.O., London, 1864), I, pp. 32 and 53.
44. Spencer (*Cavenagh*), p. 3x.
45. Lauwers, art. cit., pp. 165 and 173.
46. Both Cavenagh (op. cit., p. xvi) and Lauwers (art. cit., p. 174) quote Huxley's view (recorded by Mrs Sidney Webb): "Spencer is the most original of thinkers, though he has never invented a new thought. He never reads; merely picks up what will help him to illustrate his theories. He is a great constructor: the form he has given to his gigantic structure is entirely original; not one of the component factors is new."
- Both also quote Jowett calling Spencer "a fellow who knows a little physical science, and gives back to scientific men their own notions in a more general form".
47. Though he once believed that truth could be reached only by rational means, he later admitted, "it is not ideas which overturn the world and rule it, it is feeling." *Compayré*, op. cit., p. 88.

BOOK NOTICES

J. E. SADLER and A. N. GILLETT, *Training for Teaching* (Allen and Unwin, London, 1962).

AT a time when the training colleges are changing over to the three-year course, and are also under pressure to produce more teachers than ever, any help in the planning of work is welcome. The co-authors of this enterprising book are well qualified for their task; both are principal lecturers in colleges, and both have the enlarged perspective that comes from practical experience overseas.

The book, which is sub-titled *A Three-Year Course*, is an outline of the study of Education for students taking the three-year training. In this country we are not addicted to course-books which contain all that the students need to know. The present work is not of this kind; and the authors would certainly wish it to be the starting-point and not the terminus of their students' reading and thinking. While it provides a commendably clear statement of the essential problems in the study of Education, it also contains plentiful and carefully selected suggestions for further reading, and some very interesting material for use as the basis of discussion. This material consists partly of extracts from books (ranging over such fields as psychology, animal psychology, anthropology), and partly of records of actual school or family situations, with verbatim reports of dialogue. Students who are not provoked by this material to useful discussion must be dull indeed.

Throughout the book the writing is clear, human and practical. Jargon is avoided, but difficult problems are not made to appear deceptively simple. Topics covered include the organisation of education, teachers and the art of teaching, the study of children, the nature of learning, the curriculum, and the general aims of education. In this last section students are introduced to some of the philosophical problems, such as the meaning of freedom and equality; but the authors appear to assume (and rightly) that the average student will not be able to cope with very much purely philosophical thinking.

"This book", say the authors, "is planned as a study guide rather than as a text-book, as it provides an introduction to many topics and shows the way to further thought, study and discussion." It is to be hoped that a second edition will soon be called for; and it will be interesting to see what revisions may then be thought desirable.

M. V. C. JEFFREYS

H. C. DENT, *The Educational System of England and Wales* (University of London Press, 1961, 224 pp. 15s).

JOHN VAIZEY, *The Economics of Education* (Faber, 1962, 165 pp. 21s.).

PROFESSOR DENT has put all those interested in the British educational scene further in his debt by adding this up-to-date conspectus to his impressive range of publications. His book follows a simple plan: the long opening chapter, giving a most serviceable summary of the evolution of education in this country, is followed by a broad sketch of the situation today, and this is elaborated in detail in the remaining two-thirds of the book. The author, rightly, does not confine himself to the statutory system but includes chapters on the universities and independent schools. Each chapter has a sensibly proportioned and up-to-date bibliography, although, naturally, the selection will not please every reader.

Within his self-imposed terms of reference Dent is conspicuously successful. It is all there, from free transport for school children to the Leicestershire scheme, pleasingly free from errors of detail, conveniently arranged and lucidly explained, even if the style is at times unnecessarily legalistic. It is a measure of our progress in implementing the principle of "equality of opportunity" that the education of handicapped children gets a chapter to itself; and some protagonists of boarding school education may feel uneasy on finding that "where a special school is necessary, a day school is preferable if it offers a satisfactory and practicable solution"; that is to say, whenever possible handicapped children are not to be deprived of home life".

Yet it is a pity that the author chose to write a purely descriptive, factual outline; it would have gained in depth had "the system" been placed within the wider framework of prevailing social philosophy and economic fact. Moreover, some shrewdly realistic comments (e.g. on the price we pay in "dissonant variety" for the teacher's freedom) are a far cry from the uncritical enthusiasm of the same author's *Secondary Modern Schools*, but he seems to have a certain natural sympathy with those in authority, which, in conjunction with his straight-forward descriptive approach, invests our educational system with a misleading air of perfection. On balance, however, it is no bad thing that a book of this nature should be written by an optimist. For as a handbook for students—and, one hopes, many others—it is unlikely to be superseded until the Education Act, 1944, is itself erased from the statute book.

Professor Dent, although an educationalist, writes about things as they are; Mr Vaizey, although primarily an economist, as his uncompromising style and terminology show, is concerned with how much, and why, *ought to be* spent on education. Between the wars economists were pre-occupied with the problem of unemployment; to-day the questions of economic growth attract them most, and indeed the doyen of these researches, Colin Clark, recently had to castigate some trends in "growth-

manship". In his book, Vaizey examines the role of education in economic growth.

He begins by citing the views on education of a number of eminent economists from Adam Smith to Alfred Marshall (one is not surprised to find that the latter first thought of education as "a national investment"), goes on skilfully to demolish the case of a leading American advocate of *laissez-faire* policies in educational finance, and then, in the central part of the book, examines the structure and economic implications of public education as an industry. His summary of a number of attempts to estimate the returns to education is particularly illuminating if unavoidably speculative. These seek to enable us to determine "whether education should be pushed more, or less, *on economic grounds* (Vaizey's italics) than other competing users of public and private funds"; let us hope with the author that, as their accounting methods are perfected, accurate assessments of returns to education will make it less vulnerable to short-sighted financial blows.

Vaizey is also stimulating in relating education to economic growth, especially in pointing out how defects of educational systems such as a traditional anti-technical bias or a tendency to overproduction of intellectuals may hold up the progress of underdeveloped countries (whether in such countries, or indeed anywhere, "unemployed intellectuals are often unwilling to teach because teaching has a low social status" seems questionable). His remark on the wasting of education when and where it is, on principle, provided free, is worth pondering. Yet his case studies of Nigeria and particularly Pakistan have an air of rational optimism. The latter reminds one of the story, quoted by the late Professor Tawney, of the delegate from an underdeveloped country explaining the proposed pattern of spending the foreign loan he was seeking: "We have to spend liberally on education—you see, we are a very poor nation."

Comparisons with Vaizey's well-known pioneering piece of basic research on *The Costs of Education* may be irrelevant, but his new work is less satisfactory. For one thing, a whole book consisting almost exclusively of summaries and appraisals of other people's work and views necessarily makes heavy fare, however grateful we must be for having them brought together so accessibly. The quality of the essay is uneven—besides some excellent and exciting sections, there are the inconsistencies and platitudes on the economist and the schools, or of the 4-pages chapter on teachers and their salaries. Vaizey's writing has more vigour than distinction (a random sample: "Having thus argued about the basis of the thesis, it is necessary to deal in detail with the analysis erected by X as a superstructure"), and reveals an unwarrantable degree of self-assurance. And there are numerous signs of haste in the production of the book, ranging from the painfully split infinitive on p. 45 to the promise, on p. 125, of a section on Greece which simply remains unfulfilled! To be told that the author was already busy upon his next book may explain but does not excuse.

With these reservations, this is a significant book, worth reading as it was certainly worth writing. Put broadly, at least three valuable lessons can be learned from it: that, as the Report from Pakistan puts it, "good education cannot be had cheaply"—and, one might add, bad education is, in the long run, anything but cheap, to individuals or nations; secondly, that there must be closer links between economic and educational planning; and lastly that while the economics of education is an important subject, as yet inadequately explored, the study of it neither can nor should be divorced from relevant social and political considerations.

R. SZRETER

D. H. LAWRENCE, *Fantasia of the Unconscious* and *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (Heinemann, 1961, 18s.).

THE republication of *Fantasia of the Unconscious* and *Psychoanalysis of the Unconscious* ought to be an occasion for gratitude, especially amongst educationists and all those whose work is centred upon human beings. These two "essays" together with *Education for the People* now at long last available in the republished "Phoenix" offer stimulus and nourishment of an order not usually found in the vast (and often arid) tracts of proliferating educational theory. One would be hard put to it to find in the standard works which the intending teacher is advised to study so vital and delicate an understanding and so lucid an exposition of the growth and needs of the developing individual as is to be found in these writings.

Let it be said at the outset that these writings are not the work of a scientist—a trained psychologist. Though Lawrence had read various works of psychology and anthropology his line of approach is intuitive. Lawrence wants to write "a science that proceeds in terms of life and is established on data of living experience". Thus he creates a "pseudo-philosophy" to try to come to grips with the metaphysic on which his art depends. Not surprisingly the style is unlike the accepted mode of scientific writing. It registers unmistakably Lawrence's committed eagerness and his deeply felt concern; its sprightliness and buoyancy preclude portentousness and articulate memorably the flashes of astringent commonsense.

So now we see we can never know ourselves. Knowledge is to consciousness what the signpost is to the traveller: just an indication of the way which has been travelled before. Knowledge is not even in direct proportion to being. . . . Yet we *must* know if only in order to learn not to know. The supreme lesson of human consciousness is to learn how *not to know*. That is how not to *interfere*. That is how to live dynamically from the great Source, and not statically like machines driven by ideas and principles from the head, or automatically from one fixed desire. At last, knowledge must be put into its true place in the living activity of man. And we must know deeply in order to do even that.

Lawrence's understanding of the role of the mind in the development of the "whole manalive" calls for our closest study. To see him as advocating a kind of cult of the blood in which the mind or the intelligence have only a marginal significance is to do scant justice either to him or ourselves. For it is on his artist's recognition of the functioning of all aspects of human development that he formulates his theories of education. Education for him means "leading out the individual nature of each man and woman to its true fullness": and he adds pertinently, "you can't do that by stimulating the mind". With this aim held constantly before us, he exposes our sophistries, castigates our evasions and fulminates against our subterfuges; emphasising the need for a responsible acceptance of our situation as individuals in whatever condition life may confront us with. And he indicates what the cost of such accepted responsibility is:

The amazingly difficult and vital business of human relationship has been almost laughably underestimated in our epoch. All this nonsense about love and unselfishness, more crude than savage fetish worship. Love is a thing to be *learned*, through centuries of patient effort. It is a difficult, complex maintenance of individual integrity throughout the incalculable processes of interhuman polarity.

And yet, having made large claims for these essays, one is driven to the conclusion that they are, in a sense, of secondary importance—to the novels *Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, and the finest of the short stories. When all is said Lawrence's dictum "Never trust the artist, trust the tale" is the best principle to abide by. For here, in the novels, is the *enactment* of what Lawrence says his critic might call his "pollyanalytic"; these are the ground from which his theorising springs. And a sensitive response to the work of an artist whose dedicated task it is to engage wholly with life in its complexity can, I think, illuminate more subtly and affect our attitudes at deeper levels than all the theorising can ever hope to do. It is the novels that can open up those capacities for sympathy and understanding which might otherwise lie moribund. When Beatrice Webb tells us that it was to the poets and novelists that she turned for some insight into human motive and behaviour, her instinct to do so was unerringly right. It is the "pure, passionate experience" incarnate in the novels that we should look to first. With this behind us, so to speak, the reading of these essays is significantly enriched.

ALLEN FREER

THOMAS MARTIN, *The Royal Institution*, Third Edition (The Royal Institution of Great Britain, pp. 67, 4s.).
 No one is better qualified to write about the Royal Institution than the author of this short book for he was its General Secretary for over twenty years. He has too an important story to tell. This institution is unique

and for more than one and a half centuries has contributed notably to scientific discovery and the spread of knowledge. It is unique because it has some of the characteristics of a club, an academy, a college and a place of research; its contributions are notable because it has been the home and laboratory of Rumford, Davy, Faraday, Tyndall, the Braggs and many other men of science.

Yet in spite of the success of the Royal Institution it has not fulfilled its earliest promise. Its founder, Count Rumford, had in mind an institution designed to make widely available the benefits of applied science. His aim was mainly philanthropic. He had a vision of the vast changes which could have been wrought if what was then known about heat and light had been applied to the heating and lighting of houses, to processes of manufacture and to everyday living. It was part of his plan to set up an open exhibition where useful machines would be on display to be copied by manufacturers. (What the Boultons, father and son, thought of this can easily be imagined.) He wanted to found a residential technical college for artisans. He was frustrated by timidity, shortage of money, fears about educating working men above their station, and sheer ignorance. After a short period at the head of affairs he left England to make sure his Bavarian pension was safe, later married Mme Lavoisier and settled in France.

A great opportunity was lost. After a few precarious years the Royal Institution was saved, mainly by Humphry Davy. But its character was changed; there was created a tradition of original research which was more than maintained by Faraday and which has been nobly continued to the present day.

Dr Martin describes very clearly many of the major discoveries which have come from the laboratories and deals vividly with the lives of those who made them. His text is illustrated by excellent photographs and supplemented with a bibliography. From this interesting little book the reader can acquire a knowledge of some of the fundamental discoveries in physical science, e.g. electromagnetic induction and the laws of electrolysis; and what is equally important he can read of them in their historical setting. It can be whole-heartedly recommended. W. J. SPARROW

JOHN WILSON, *Public Schools and Private Practice* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1962, pp. 142, 18s.).

THIS book is not going to get a good press. Its limitations and, worse, its tactlessness, will make it fair game for reviewers. And yet it has its uses, for Mr Wilson writes with fresh, naive honesty of schools which he knows well and loves. One is rather sorry for him, for he is probably in for heavier brickbats than he expects, and he will get them from both sides, from advocates of the public-schools who will be angry at some of his

criticisms, and from opponents of them who will reject his proposal that all able and intelligent boys of all economic classes should be educated for leadership on a Janissary system in boarding schools of public-school character.

Some of the charges which he makes against the schools are ones of which we are all aware. Some are new. For instance, few people have probably considered how much of a headmaster's time and energy (unless he is head of one of the handful of "top" schools) must be given to commercial lifemanship. He must devote himself to such things as getting publicity in the "right" papers, getting match fixtures with schools one step further up the snob ladder, and pleasing the "right" people, even to the extent of promoting the sons of influential parents to positions of honour in the school. A headmaster may not have to please many people inside his school, but he has to please a great many people outside it. He is in a similar position to that of a managing director of a commercial company except that he must pretend to be moved by intellectual and moral motives when really he is thinking much of the time in terms of publicity and useful contacts in the old-boy network. He must add the vice of hypocrisy to the usual commercial attitudes.

It is not only the head whose personality is liable to distortion. The lives of the staff are described as purgatorial, except for men who have failed to develop beyond schoolboy tastes and ideas. Mr Wilson admits that this immaturity is one of the motives for their having entered the teaching profession. They want "to clothe themselves . . . in the public-school aura they knew as boys". The master must have the manner which enables him to address a Jaguar-owning parent as an equal, though both will be aware of the real difference in status; he is on view, and in a sense on duty, the whole of the time; he teaches on Saturday mornings and is expected to appear at Sunday services; his promotion depends upon a twenty-four-hour day acceptable personality. Even his wife is enlisted; she must sell flags for the causes which the headmaster's wife supports, and she must give and attend the right tea-parties. The battle for promotion is politely relentless in many professions, but the business-man or civil servant escapes when he boards his transport to the suburb; his home, unlike that of a public-school master, can be the castle of a private life. Mr Wilson is explicit about the inferiority feelings and defensive attitudes which the teachers develop as a result of their situation.

But let us leave the teachers to look after themselves, and consider the welfare of the pupils. There are indeed many advantages in boarding-school life, and Mr Wilson puts these fairly, but readers of the book are more likely to be impressed by two weaknesses of the public schools which he describes with alarming vividness.

The first of these is the lack of human communication at all levels which they seem to engender. He shows the boys imprisoned in a world devoid of female society, and adult problems, without varied social,

political and religious opinion. He says that many boys at their public schools are unhappy. They fail to achieve success in the narrow channels provided, and all other ways are closed to them. They are in a world made by barbarians, demanding only barbarian qualities. There is no place in it for the profound, the sensitive, the artistic, the original. Mr Wilson links most kinds of conversation with other forms of vice. He says that at some schools of more authoritarian pattern, "pin-ups may not exist at all, and talk about motor-cars and girls may be considerably reduced". One must suppose that talk of horses, or, better, dinosaurs, would be encouraged but that motor-cars are condemned with jazz as new-fangled and degenerate. And when the boys get home he points out that they cannot communicate with their parents, who do not understand the world of school, nor the queer slang language which their sons talk. Even the staff, he says, finds it "amazingly difficult to know what the boys are thinking and feeling".

After having read *Public Schools and Private Practice* one can imagine the finished product of the system as a being afflicted with an incurably stiff upper lip who finds great difficulty in talking about anything beyond sport and the weather.

But the most extraordinary characteristic of the public schools as depicted by Mr Wilson is the degree of moral chaos which they contain. Perhaps we must recognise that practical morality is necessarily a compromise between what the ideal demands, what society expects, and what the individual desires. But even if we accept a worldly standard of tolerance, what are we to make of the following passage?

We are given this list of the faults which are recognised as serious and "discussed in hushed voices": "Blatant disobedience to members of the staff, stealing, insulting another boy's parents or background, disloyalty to the boy's House, unwillingness to co-operate on the playing field, extreme selfishness, open opposition to religion, and most forms of sexual expression." We learn that "in some schools homosexuality is extremely common, and masturbation is widespread in most of them", and that "some schools will tolerate most behaviour, even of a most immoral kind, provided it can be checked or hushed-up. Others will expel boys for offences such as going to the cinema or public houses, or to London, for homosexuality or for stealing. It is chiefly the publicity value of the offence with which the schools are concerned". The more we think about this passage the more curious it seems.

Brown says that he is fed up with football and proposes to cut it this afternoon. What a blackguard! Smith who says to a friend in another afternoon: "Actually, even as housemasters go, ours is a particularly asinine house: "Actually, even as housemasters go, ours is a particularly asinine kind of ass." What a traitor! As for Perkins, who said "I won't go" when ordered by the head to leave the hall during prayers, we can indeed believe that his exploit would be discussed in hushed tones. But not more hushed than the tones which would canvass Green's unorthodox views on the

Incarnation, or Thomson's trip to see *West Side Story*. Tagging along with these awful offences we find homosexuality. Mr Wilson could defend his position by arguing that homosexuality is morally indifferent and psychologically harmless, or that it doesn't happen if housemasters know their job. But he makes no comment or defence; he lets it pass with frivolous casualness.

He describes religion in the schools as having a similarly ambiguous character. It is important as a ritual, but if boys become seriously interested in it the staff will regard them as "unhealthy", "emotional", "too serious". Strangely, the emotion of the staff is directed more negatively towards irreligion, which is regarded as a dangerous enemy, than positively towards religion, which is treated as a genteel acquaintance of high status value.

We do not need to spend much time considering Mr Wilson's plans for setting up similar schools for all able boys. For one thing, the plans are not very practical, since Mr Wilson shows no sign of having submitted himself to the disciplines of sociology or administration. For another, if the public schools really are as arid, venal, and uncivilised as Mr Wilson depicts them, they should be wiped off the educational map with a damp rag. But are they really so bad? Even their worst enemies may wonder.

E. S. JULL

J. N. FUJII, *An introduction to the elements of mathematics*: (Wiley and Sons. 1961. 47s.).

E. M. MOTT, *First Steps in Practical Number Work* (Evans, 1961. 10s. 6d.)

WRITTEN for first year college students in the United States of America, Fujii's book has considerable interest for sixth form teachers or lecturers to specialists in mathematics in Training colleges in England. It is designed to introduce in an elementary way the language of logic and modern mathematics and shows its use in defining number, in the introduction of elementary algebra, the study of functions, calculus, permutations and combinations, and probability.

After considering the problem of communication and the structure of language, signs and symbols, the author shows how to analyse statements and discusses the logical nature of argument and proof. This leads to an introduction to sets and to consideration of their structure which is shown to be related with the structure of compound statements and arguments. Then follows a discussion of number sets and their structure. In the remainder of the book the language of modern mathematics is applied in the familiar branches of mathematics already listed.

Readers who are still unfamiliar with the structures of logical argument and of sets, groups, rings, and fields will find this interesting reading lucidly presented. The introduction of some historical notes adds to its interest and frequent exercises, to which there are answers, besides a

glossary of symbols and an index of definitions, aids rapid learning of unfamiliar material.

Study of mathematics along these lines should lead to an appreciation of structure and underlying unity in much mathematics; but it is essentially verbal and may prove unpalatable to less able students who have little facility with language, or to the scientists whose needs are utilitarian. This approach seems most suited to specialists and to Arts students who wish to study some mathematics.

In conclusion, teachers who are already familiar with modern mathematics and who wish to alter their teaching in line with the recommendations of the O.E.E.C. report may find help from the development of the subject suggested in this book.

Mott's book is packed with suggestions for teaching basic mathematical concepts to older infants through their activity within a suitably planned environment. It is evident that Miss Mott's pupils would enjoy their experiences and would be well prepared for more theoretical work; it is not surprising that they become enthusiasts for arithmetical pastimes.

The book has its limitations in that it describes only one year's work and no indication is given of what might be done with exceptionally slow or able children. But it will be valued by teachers for the diversity of work suggested, and deserves to be commended for showing, again, the value of linking subjects in the Primary school curriculum.

RUTH M. BEARD

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F. B.

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